

THE
VOYAGE OF HANNO
TRANSLATED,

AND
ACCOMPANIED WITH THE GREEK TEXT;

EXPLAINED FROM THE ACCOUNTS OF
MODERN TRAVELLERS ;

DEFENDED AGAINST THE OBJECTIONS OF MR DODWELL,
AND OTHER WRITERS ;

AND
ILLUSTRATED BY MAPS FROM PTOLEMY
D'ANVILLE, AND BOUGAINVILLE.

By THOMAS FALCONER, A. M.
FELLOW OF C. C. C. OXFORD.

The realm of Bacchus to the Blackmoor sea.

MILTON'S Par. Reg.

Dignum est enim hoc monumentum, quod curâ illustretur non tantum veritatis ergò, sed et gratiâ antiquitatis.

VOSSII Observe. ad Pomp. Mel. de Hanno. Perip.

L O N D O N :

Sold by T. CADELL *Jun.* and DAVIES, (Successors
to Mr CADELL), in the Strand.

MDCCXCVII.

P R E F A C E.

THE following narrative has been classed by some distinguished writers, as Montefquieu, Campomanes, and Dr Robertson, amongst the valuable remains of antiquity; whilst it has been condemned by others, particularly by Mr Dodwell, as a fable, or a forgery.

It has been translated into Italian by Ramusio, into Spanish by Campomanes, and into French by Bougainville. An English version of a large part of it is to be found in Dr Hooke's posthumous writings. I cannot omit, in this account of the various translations of this voyage, my particular obligations

obligations to the Rev. W. Mason of York, for his liberal and polite permission to examine the papers of the late Mr Gray. If, however, any translation, or any remarks, had been discovered amongst Mr Gray's manuscripts, the Public might still have lamented, that they did not receive them from the elegant pen of his friend, who would have placed what was complete in its most appropriate situation, or would have supplied what was defective from congenial taste.

The Dissertations, which follow the translation, contain a collection of arguments, which tend to establish the authenticity of those parts of the account, where it might be supposed, that a forgery would most probably be attempted.

The Greek text is introduced, that an opportunity might be offered of judging accurately of the degree of credit, which the work may claim, and particularly as the lesser Greek geographers are not to be found in every private library.

If the fastidious reader should object to the punctuation of the Greek original, I beg leave to inform him, that the Oxford edition has been scrupulously followed, except towards the conclusion. I should not, however, have hesitated to have altered it, from the first sentence to the last, if I had sooner discovered its peculiarities. But the proofs were worked off, and it was too late to attempt any farther change. The Latin notes at the bottom of the page, without any name, are those of Hudson.

I have to regret that the libraries to which I have had access, (I do not except even the Bodleian), did not contain the following modern book : “ *Antiquités maritimes de la Republique de Carthage, par Campomanes* ;” nor the Spanish original, of which the French work is a translation. Michaelis announced, in his preface to the *Account of Egypt by Abulfeda*, the *Description of the western parts of Africa* by the same author ; but I do not know whether it was published. The Baron de St Croix was preparing, in 1789, a
new

new edition of the *Geographi Minores* of Hudson, which was to include several other geographical treatises that were not to be found in any former collection; but the tumults of his country will scarcely allow us to think that his plan could be executed.

I cannot conclude this preface without making my particular acknowledgments to the Rev. T. Burgefs, Prebendary of Durham, not of obligations which I have received on the present occasion only, but of those which I have experienced during a series of years. It is to this friend, (and I am proud to call him by this name), that I am indebted for the acquaintance of the venerable Philosopher and Critic Lord Monboddo, and of his learned friend Professor Dalzel of Edinburgh; from both of whom, during a residence of some months in that city, I received many civilities.

C O N-

CONTENTS.

	Page
INTRODUCTION, - - -	ix
The ACCOUNT of HANNO'S VOYAGE, with the ORIGINAL, - - -	I
DISSERTATION I. - - -	16
DISSERTATION II. - - -	39

E R R A T A.

- Page* 14. *line* 8. *for* *περαιτέρω*, *read* -επισώτίζω,
 15. 8. *for* farther *read* further
 18. 20. *for* Torse, *read* Torre,
 24. note, *for* calicutam *read* calicatam
 27. *line* 19. *for* Nigritia." The—*read* Nigritia," the
 34. 19. *for* flame. *read* perfume.
 36. 7. *for* our *read* their
 50. 15. *for* paced *read* placed
 65. 16. *for* narritive *read* narrative
 74. note, *for* Bagona's *read* Bayona's
 85. *line* 2. *for* possessions *read* possessors

* * * N. B. The observations from Bougainville, beginning *page* 82,—“ Carthage existed &c.—and ending *page* 91,—voyage of Hanno.”—being translated from the *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, &c. ought to have been printed with inverted commas.

INTRODUCTION.

DR SYMONDS, in his Remarks upon The Essay respecting the colonization of the free states of Antiquity, has not allowed to the argument, that is deduced from the illustrations which are contained in the account of modern travellers, that force which it seems to possess, when applied to the present work *. “ Their arguments,” says this author, “ tend chiefly to shew, that many
“ circumstances contained in Hanno’s Journal,
“ are confirmed by the accounts of modern navigators ; and Dr Robertson has given further illustration of them from Ramusio and
“ Adanson. We may safely grant all this to
“ be true, and yet it can never be inferred, that
“ the Periplus is a genuine composition. Few
“ men

* Dr Symonds will excuse, I trust, the freedom with which I have examined his opinion.

“ men have been so absurd as to forge books,
 “ without taking the ground of them from hi-
 “ story : for otherwise the credulity of mankind,
 “ excessive as it is, could never have been
 “ brought to digest them. It is well known,
 “ that if a question on the operation of the con-
 “ tents of a will is to be tried in a court of
 “ justice, it is expected, that we prove the for-
 “ malities of it, before we enter into the con-
 “ tents. It is precisely the same with books.
 “ We must prove their authenticity before we
 “ can be allowed to reason from them.”

Three questions arise from these observations :
 first, whether Hanno composed the voyage ;
 secondly, whether the whole be authentic ;
 and, thirdly, whether it be partly authentic,
 and partly fictitious.

With regard to the first question, it is not ne-
 cessary that Hanno should have composed the
 work, in order that it should receive the name
 it bears, or that it should be considered as au-
 thentic. We have an instance of this case in
 Lord Anson's voyage ; the authenticity of
 which, and the propriety of its receiving the
 name of the commander of the expedition, were
 never disputed *.

As

* See this very case stated in the Bishop of Llandaff's
 Apology for the Bible. The coincidence is striking, but
 the passage was written before the B. of L.'s book was pu-
 blished.

As to the third question, whether it is partly authentic, and partly fictitious, Dr Symonds does not appear to have fully considered the circumstances, which are confirmed by later navigators. We should naturally expect to trace the hand of an impostor in the description of the animals, of the vegetable productions, of the customs and manners of the inhabitants of that part of Africa ; but the facts relating to these subjects are supported by modern observations, and consequently by what is equivalent to contemporary testimony. It must then be allowed that a part of the narrative is authentic. The comparison of a book and of a will, I apprehend is defective. The circumstances in a will originate in the person whose name it bears ; and if it is not proved to be his, it is of no consequence whose it may be, or what are the circumstances ; whereas if we cannot indisputably prove that this voyage was written by Hanno, or even performed by him, we may nevertheless prove, that it is extremely probable it was performed by some person, and is consequently true, and then it signifies little by what name the person was called. Internal proofs and analogy are allowed in reasoning on the authenticity of a narrative of this kind ; whereas they are excluded by the very nature of a will. A book admits testimony relative to
the

the circumstances and facts ; but a will does not admit any but what is relative to the persons.

I must here observe, that those writers who have considered the *Periplus* as a forgery, have not assigned any motive which could induce the author to fabricate such a voyage. We will suppose, that he would attempt to deceive either the Carthaginians or some foreign nation. The objects of this expedition appear to have been the establishment of colonies, and the discovery of new places on the coast, which might be designed for future settlements. An impostor probably would have exaggerated his account of the advantages of the situation of different parts of the country, and would have flattered the Carthaginians with an anticipation of the increase of their commerce ; but we do not find any one circumstance which could please the sanguine disposition of his countrymen, or which could produce one new adventure. The interest of an impostor must be advanced by a representation of this kind ; but nothing is related, which resembles the boast of the discovery of a gold country in modern times *, nor is any object proposed that could influence even the sordid spirit of the Carthaginian merchants to prepare a fleet to trade to the south at any future period.

The

* See Sir W. Raleigh's Account of Guiana.

The Carthaginians must have been acquainted with their own settlements on the coast, (for it would have been a strange attempt to undertake to persuade them that they had settlements where they had not any); therefore an impostor could not hope to deceive them in that point: But why should he insert authentic history where he might have substituted his own fictions without any danger of detection?

The only supposition which remains is, that this work was written with a view to deceive some foreign nation. No such intention appears from the language of the narrative, which is plain and simple. Besides, the jealousy of this people was inconsistent with any ostentation that might betray their power or their wealth.

Again if we are to condemn that as false, which, from its peculiar nature, cannot now be illustrated, there still is a portion that will be always studied as a curious fragment of ancient navigation.

My own opinion, however, is very different. The narrative seems to have been originally designed for the information of Carthaginians, or of such traders as resorted to Carthage alone; and, for this reason, the detail of the voyage from Carthage to the pillars is entirely omitted. The parts of Africa immediately following are slightly described, in order to give a general
notion

the circumstances and facts ; but a will does not admit any but what is relative to the persons.

I must here observe, that those writers who have considered the *Periplus* as a forgery, have not assigned any motive which could induce the author to fabricate such a voyage. We will suppose, that he would attempt to deceive either the Carthaginians or some foreign nation. The objects of this expedition appear to have been the establishment of colonies, and the discovery of new places on the coast, which might be designed for future settlements. An impostor probably would have exaggerated his account of the advantages of the situation of different parts of the country, and would have flattered the Carthaginians with an anticipation of the increase of their commerce ; but we do not find any one circumstance which could please the sanguine disposition of his countrymen, or which could produce one new adventure. The interest of an impostor must be advanced by a representation of this kind ; but nothing is related, which resembles the boast of the discovery of a gold country in modern times *, nor is any object proposed that could influence even the sordid spirit of the Carthaginian merchants to prepare a fleet to trade to the south at any future period.

The

* See Sir W. Raleigh's Account of Guiana.

The Carthaginians must have been acquainted with their own settlements on the coast, (for it would have been a strange attempt to undertake to persuade them that they had settlements where they had not any); therefore an impostor could not hope to deceive them in that point: But why should he insert authentic history where he might have substituted his own fictions without any danger of detection?

The only supposition which remains is, that this work was written with a view to deceive some foreign nation. No such intention appears from the language of the narrative, which is plain and simple. Besides, the jealousy of this people was inconsistent with any ostentation that might betray their power or their wealth.

Again if we are to condemn that as false, which, from its peculiar nature, cannot now be illustrated, there still is a portion that will be always studied as a curious fragment of ancient navigation.

My own opinion, however, is very different. The narrative seems to have been originally designed for the information of Carthaginians, or of such traders as resorted to Carthage alone; and, for this reason, the detail of the voyage from Carthage to the pillars is entirely omitted. The parts of Africa immediately following are slightly described, in order to give a general
notion

notion of the situation of the new colonies ; because the places were familiar to those who were addressed, and by whom they had probably been formerly examined. As the remaining part, which contains the discoveries, is authenticated by modern travels, I must infer, that the whole account is true.

ἌΝΝΩΝΟΣ

ἌΝΝΩΝΟΣ

ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ

ΠΕΡΙΠΛΟΥΣ.

TESTIMONIA & JUDICIA DE HANNONE.

Aristoteles in libello περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκυσμάτων.

ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ, ὅ καὶ τὰ ἔξω τηλῶν Ἡρακλείωνται καλεῖσθαι· τὰ μὲν, διὰ παν-
τός· τὰ δὲ, κυλῖαν μέγιστον ὡς Ἀσιωτικῶν Περιπλῆς ἰσορῆ.

Albentius in Deirnosophista, lib. 3.

Εἰ μὲν τι τέλει τὸ εἶναι ἰσορῆ,

————— χαίρω

Λεονταῖον βέλους, ταῖσι τ' Ἀσιωτικῶν πλάναις.

Marcianus Heracleota in Epitome Artemidori & Menippi.

Εἰ καὶ Ἀπιδῶς ὁ Κυρηναῖος, καὶ Εὐρυμένης ὁ Μασσαλιώτης, καὶ Φιλίας
ὁ Αἰθιοπικός, καὶ Αἰδρωτίτης ὁ Ἰάσιος, καὶ Κλέων ὁ Σικελιώτης, Εὐδοξὸς τε
ὁ Ρωδός, καὶ Ἀντων ὁ Καρχηδόνιος.

Pomponius Mela, lib. 3. c. 9.

Hanno Carthaginienſis exploratum miſſus à ſuis, cum per
Oceanum ciſſium exiſſet, magnam partem ejus circumveſtus, non
ſe mari, ſed comiteatu defeciſſe, memoratu retulerat. *Et mox :*
Super eos grandis littoris flexus grandem inſulam includit, in
qua tantum feminas eſſe narrant, toto corpore hirsutas, & ſine
coitu marium ſua ſponte ſæcundas : adeo aſperis efferiſque mori-
bus, ut quædam contineri ne reluctentur vix vinculis poſſint.
Hoc Hanno retulit, & quia detracta occiſis coria pertulerat,
fides habita eſt.

Plinius in Hiſt. Nat. lib. 2. c. 67.

Hanno, Carthaginis potentia floreſcente, circumveſtus à Gadi-
bus ad finem Arabiæ, navigationem eam prodidit ſcripto.

Idem,

Idem, lib. 5. c. 1.

Fuere & Hannonis Carthaginiensium ducis commentarii, Punicis rebus florentissimis explorare ambitum Africæ jussi : quem secuti plerique è Græcis nostrisque, & alia quidem fabulosa, & urbes multas ab eo conditas ibi prodidere, quarum nec memoria ulla, nec vestigium existat.

Idem, lib. 5. c. 36.

Penetravit in eas (Gorgadam insulas) Hanno Pœnorum Imperator, prodiditque hirta feminarum corpora, viros pernecitate evasisse : duarumque Gorgonum cutes argumenti & miraculi gratia in Junonis templo posuit, spectatas usque ad Carthaginem captam.

Julius Solinus, sub finem cap. 56.

Prodidit Xenophon Lampfacenus Hannonem Pœnorum regem in eas (Gorgadam insulas) permeavisse, repertasque ibi feminas aliti pernecitate, atque ex omnibus quæ apparuerant, duas captas tam hirtæ atque aspero corpore, ut argumentum spectandæ rei duarum cutes miraculi gratia inter donaria Junonis suspenderit : quæ duravere usque in tempora excidii Carthaginiensis.

Isaacus Vossius in Observationibus ad Melam, p. 302.

Quod Aristides & alii nonnulli è veteribus, & multi è recentibus fabulosam existimant hanc Hannonis narrationem, in eo plurimum illos sedellit ratio. Dignum est enim hoc monumentum quod cum cura illustretur, non tantum veritatis ergo, sed & gratia antiquitatis, cum id omnibus Græcorum monumentis longe sit vetustius.

Ἄ Ν Ν Ω Ν Ο Σ
ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΩΝ Ὑ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
Ὑ ΠΕΡΙΠΛΟΥΣ

Ἦν ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἡρακλέους σήλας Λιβυκῶν τῆς γῆς
μερῶν, ὅν καὶ ἀνέθηκεν ἐν τῷ τῷ ³ Κρόνῳ τεμεῖν,
δηλῶσα τὰδε.

ΕΔΟΞΕΝ Καρχηδονίοις, Ἄνωνα πλεῖν ἔξω ση-
λῶν Ἡρακλείων, καὶ πόλεις κτίζειν ⁴ Λιβυφοινί-
κων. καὶ ἐπλευσεν, πεντηκοντόρους ἐξήκοιτα ἄγων, καὶ
πληθὺς ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν, εἰς ἀριθμὸν μυριάδων
τριῶν, καὶ σῖτα, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευήν. ὥς δ'
⁵ ἀναχθέντες, τὰς σήλας παρημέψαμεν, καὶ ἔξω
πλεῖν

¹ Plinius l. 5. c. 1. cum ducem Carthaginensium dixit, alibi imperatorem. *Gesnerus*.

² Διόγνης rectius appellari existimat *Vossius*.

³ Templum, in quo descriptio hæc dedicata erat, Junonis fu-
isse, tradunt Plinius & Solinus.

THE
ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE
OF
HANNO, Commander of the Carthaginians,
ROUND THE PARTS OF LIBYA BEYOND THE PILLARS OF
HERCULES,

Which He deposited in the Temple of Saturn.

“ IT was decreed by the Carthaginians, that Hanno
“ should undertake a voyage beyond the Pillars of
“ Hercules, and found Libyphenician cities. He sailed
“ accordingly with sixty ships of fifty oars each, and a
“ body of men and women, to the number of thirty thou-
“ sand, and provisions and other necessaries.

“ When we had passed the Pillars on our voyage, and
“ had

* Libyphœnices, quasi ex Phœnicibus advenis, indigenisque Afris mixti. Vide Plinium in Nat. Hist. l. 5. c. 4. & Stephanum in voce Βύζαντες.

⁵ *Ανάγειν* non modo solvere, sed etiam in altum evehī interpretantur. *Gesner.*

πλεῖν δὲ αὖ ἡμερῶν ἐπλεύσαμεν, ἐκτίσαμεν πρώτην
 πόλιν, ἣν τινα ἐνομάσαμεν ¹ Θουριατήριον· πεδῖον δ'
 αὐτῇ μέγα ὑπὸν· καὶ πάντα πρὸς ² ἐσπέραν ἀναχθέν-
 τες, ἐπὶ Σολόεντα Λιεύκον ἀκρωτήριον, λάσιον δέν-
 δρεσι συνήλθομεν, εἰθ' αὖ ³ Ποταμὸν ἔξω ἰδρύσά-
 μνοι, πάλιν ἐπέειχμεν πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα ἡμέρας
 ἥμισυ, ἄχρι ἐκρυσσώθημεν εἰς λίμνην οὐ πόρρω τῆς
 θαλάττης καρδὴν, καλούμεν μετὴν πολλοῦ καὶ με-
 γάλου· ἐπῆσαν δὲ καὶ ἐλέφαντες, καὶ τᾶλλα θηρία
 νερόθρα πάντα· τὴν τε λίμνην παραλλάξαντες
 ὅσον ἡμέρας πλεῖν, ⁴ κατακλήσαμεν πόλιν πρὸς τῇ
 θαλάττῃ καλεμέαν, ⁵ Καρικὸν τε τᾶχ' αὖ, καὶ Γύτ-
 τιν, καὶ Ακρην, καὶ ⁶ Μελιτῖαν, καὶ Αγραμῆυν· καὶ κἄ-
 ρει δ' ἀναχθέντες, ἤλθομεν ἐπὶ μέγαν ⁷ ποταμὸν Λί-
 ξον, ἀπὸ τῆς Λιεύτης ῥέοντα· παρὰ δ' αὐτὸν, Νο-
 μάδες ἄνθρωποι Λιξίται, βοσκήματ' εἰεμον, παρ'
 οἷς ἐμείναμεν ἄχρι τῆς, φίλοι γυρόμενοι· Τούτων
 δὲ καὶ

¹ Stephano Θουιατρία & Scylaci Θικιατρία dicitur. forsitan mendose pro Θουιατρία.

² Atqui mihi videtur ambiens tibus Africam omnis post co-
 lumnas navigatio converti, vel ad meridiem, vel ad occidentem, &
 postremo ad aquilonem.

“ had sailed beyond them for two days, we founded the
 “ first city, which we named Thymiaterium. Below it
 “ lay an extensive plain. Proceeding thence towards the
 “ west, we came to Solocis, a promontory of Libya, a
 “ place thickly covered with trees, where we erected a
 “ temple to Neptune; and again proceeded for the space
 “ of half a day towards the east, until we arrived at a
 “ lake lying not far from the sea, and filled with abun-
 “ dance of large reeds. Here elephants, and a great num-
 “ ber of other wild animals, were feeding.

“ Having passed the lake about a day’s sail, we founded
 “ cities near the sea, called Caricon-ticos, and Gytte, and
 “ Acra, and Melitta, and Arambys. Thence we came
 “ to the great river Lixus, which flows from Libya.
 “ On its banks the Lixitæ, a shepherd tribe, were feed-
 “ ing flocks, amongst whom we continued some time
 “ on friendly terms. Beyond the Lixitæ dwelt the in-
 “ hospitable

³ Libyæ hæc regio (ut inquit Scylax) tota est celeberrima & facerrima. In summitate vero promontorii Solocentis est ara magna, Vindictæ & Neptuno consecrata.

⁴ Malim *κατακτίσαμεν*. à verbo *κατακτιζω*, quod *κατα* significat. nam Hanno (ut verisimilimum est) non habitatores civitatibus nomen dedit, sed primus urbes eas in hac regione condidit. *Gesner.*

⁵ Urbs est Libyæ ad sinistram columnarum Herculis, ut Ephorus scribit. Verisimile autem est ad hunc locum Cares pervenisse, qui etiam Carico in Memphide nomen dederunt. *Idem.*

⁶ Hæc Hecateus meminit, teste Stephano.

⁷ De Lixo urbe & fluvio vide Scylacem, p. 53.

ἥ καθ' ὑπερβαί, Αἰθίοπες ὅκυν ἄξεναι, γῆν νεμόμε-
 ναι θηριώδη διελημμένην ὄρεσι μεγάλοις, ἐξ ὧν ῥαῖν
 φασὶ τὸν Λίξον. περὶ ἥ τὰ ὄρη, κατοικεῖν ἀνθρώπους
 ἁλλοιομόρφους Τρωιλοδύτας· ἔς ταχυτέρας ἵππων ἐν
 δρόμοις ἔφραζον οἱ Λιξίται. λαβόντες ἥ παρ' αὐτῶν
 ἐξουσίας, παρεπλέομεν τὴν ἐρήμην πρὸς μεσημβρίαν,
 δύο ἡμέρας. ἐκεῖθεν ἥ πάλιν πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίχοντα,
 ἡμέρας δρόμον. ἐνθα εὗρομεν ἐν μυχῶ τινι κόλπον,
 ἴσον μικρῶν, κύκλον ἔχουσαν σαοίων πέντε· ἦν ἡ κα-
 τὰκήσαμεν, Κέρνην ὀνομάσαντες. ἐτεκμαυρόμεθα ὅ
 αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆ περιπλῆ, κατ' εὐθὺ κείῳ Καρχηδόνος.
 Ἐώρα γὰρ ὁ πλῆς, ἐκ τῆ Καρχηδόνος ἐπὶ θήλας,
 καὶ κείῳ ἐπὶ Κέρνην. τὴν ἐϋθεν εἰς λίμνην ἀφικόμεθα,
 διὰ τινος ποταμοῦ μεγάλου Δραπλεύσαντες, Χρέτης.
 εἶχεν ἥ ἰήτης ἡ λίμνη τρεῖς, μείζους τῆς Κέρνης.
 ἀφ' ὧν ἡμερέσιον πλῆν κατανύσσαίης, εἰς τὴν μυχὸν
 τῆς λίμνης ἤλθομεν. ὑπὲρ ἦν ὄρη μέγιστα ὑπερέτα-
 ναι, ἡ μετὰ ἀνθρώπων ἀγρίων, δέρματα θήρεα ἐνημ-
 μέαν, οἱ πέτραις βάλλοντες, ἡ ἀτήραζαν ἡμᾶς, κω-
 λούοντες ἐκείῃ. ἐκεῖθεν πλείοντες, εἰς ἕτερον ἤλθο-
 μεν ποταμὸν μέγαν καὶ πλατὺν, γέμοντα κροκο-
 δείλων

¹ Pallas. His in locis collocat. *Utriusque feriferus & Blem-
 myx et Sarax*, &c. Vide Nat. Hist. l. 5. c. 8. & lib. 6. c. 32.

“ hospitable Ethiopians, who pasture a wild country in-
 “ tersected by large mountains, from which they say the
 “ river Lixus flows. In the neighbourhood of the moun-
 “ tains lived the Troglodytæ, men of various appearances,
 “ whom the Lixitæ described as swifter in running than
 “ horses. Having procured interpreters from them, we
 “ coasted along a desert country towards the south two
 “ days. Thence we proceeded towards the east the
 “ course of a day. Here we found in a recess of a
 “ certain bay a small island, containing a circle of five
 “ stadia, where we settled a colony, and called it Cerne.
 “ We judged from our voyage that this place lay in a
 “ direct line with Carthage; for the length of our voyage
 “ from Carthage to the Pillars, was equal to that from
 “ the Pillars to Cerne. We then came to a lake, which
 “ we reached by sailing up a large river called Chretes.
 “ This lake had three islands, larger than Cerne; from
 “ which proceeding a day’s sail, we came to the extremi-
 “ ty of the lake, that was overhung by large mountains,
 “ inhabited by savage men, cloathed in skins of wild
 “ beasts, who drove us away by throwing stones, and
 “ hindered us from landing. Sailing thence, we came to
 “ another river, that was large and broad, and full of
 “ crocodiles

² Rursus lege κατακίσσμεν. *Gesner.*

³ Similis erat navigatio, pro æqualis. *Idem.*

⁴ Legendum omnino μετὰ ἀνθρώπων. *Gesner.*

⁵ Verbum est rarum, ab ἀπαράσσειν, cum impetu & fragore de-
turbare. Idem.

θάλων καὶ ἵππων ποταμίων. ὅθεν δὴ πάλιν ἀποστρέ-
ψαιτες, εἰς Κέρην ἐπανήλθομεν. ἐκῆθεν ᾗ, ἐπὶ ¹ με-
σημέριᾳ ἐπλεύσαμεν δώδεκα ἡμέρας, ² τὴν γῆν πα-
ραλεγόμενοι. ἦν πᾶσαν κατῴκην Αἰθίοπες, φεύγον-
τες ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἔχ' ὑπομένοντες· ἀσύνετα δ' ἐφθέγγον-
το, καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμῶν Διζίταις. τῇ δ' ἔν τελευταίᾳ
ἡμέρᾳ, προσωρμίσθημεν ὄρεσι μεγάλοις δασέσιν. ἦν
ᾗ τὰ τῶν οἰκτρῶν ζύγια εὐώδη τὲ καὶ ποικίλα. ἀει-
πλεύσαντες ᾗ ταῦτα ἡμέρας δύο, γινόμεθα ἐν ³ θα-
λάτῃς χάσματι ἀμετρήτῳ, ᾗ ἐπὶ θάτερα πρὸς τῇ
γῇ, πεδίοι ἦν, ὅθεν νυχθὺς ἀφωρῶμεν, πῦρ ἀναφε-
ρόμενον παλαιχόβην κατ' ⁴ ἀπτάσεις· τὸ μὲν πλεόν,
τὸ δ' ἔλαττον. ὑδρευσάμενοι δ' ἐκῆθεν, ἐπλέομεν εἰς
τῷμτροθεν ἡμέρας πέριε παρὰ γῆν, ἄχρι ἤλθομεν
εἰς μέγαν κόλπον, ὃν ἔφασαν οἱ ἐρμηνέες καλεῖσθαι,
⁵ Ἑσπέρην Κέρας. ἐν ᾗ τέτρω, νῆσος ἦν μεγάλη, καὶ
ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ, ⁶ λίμνη θαλασσιᾶς, ἐν ᾗ ταύτῃ νῆσος
ἑτέρα, εἰς ἣν ἀπεθάντες, ἡμέρας μὲν, ἔδ' ἐν ἀφωρῶ-
μεν, ὅτι μὴ ὕλην· νυχθὺς δὲ, πυρὰ τε πολλὰ καίον-
μεθα,

¹ Superius πρὸς μεσημέριαν dixit. Scite tamen multitudinis nu-
mero ponit. Sic Plato in Epinomide δυσμᾶς & ἀνατολᾶς. *Idem.*

² In nostris tabulis non tantum spatii videtur his littoribus tribui.

³ Maris opinor hiatus immensum vocat, spatium ipsum maris,
superatū illi montibus, longe lateque vastum apparens. *C. J. nec.*

“ crocodiles and river horses; whence returning back, we
 “ came again to Cerne. Thence we sailed towards the
 “ south twelve days, coasting the shore, the whole of
 “ which is inhabited by Ethiopians, who would not wait
 “ our approach, but fled from us. Their language was
 “ not intelligible even to the Lixitæ, who were with us.
 “ Towards the last day, we approached some large moun-
 “ tains covered with trees, the wood of which was sweet-
 “ scented and variegated. Having sailed by these moun-
 “ tains for two days, we came to an immense opening of
 “ the sea; on each side of which, towards the continent,
 “ was a plain; from which we saw by night fire arising at
 “ intervals in all directions, either more or less.

“ Having taken in water there, we sailed forwards five
 “ days near the land, until we came to a large bay, which
 “ our interpreters informed us was called the Western Horn.
 “ In this was a large island, and in the island a salt water lake,
 “ and in this another island, where, when we had landed,
 “ we could discover nothing in the day time except trees;
 “ but in the night we saw many fires burning, and heard the
 “ sound

⁴ Αποσάσεις pro διασμήματα accipio. *Id. m.*

⁵ Hujus promontorii meminit Mela, lib. 3. c. 9. ut & Plinius in Hist. Nat. l. 6. c. 31. Est vero Ἐσπερίαις Κέρας promontorium illud famosum quod *Viride* appellatur. Valde ideo hallucinatur Salmasius, [& qui eum sequitur, Harduinus, ad Plin. lib. 6. p. 745.] cum hoc negat, ac *Caput Palmarum* interpretatur: eo enim usque non progressus est Hanno. *Vossius* ad Melam, p. 309.

⁶ Lacus salus, aut magnus forte speciei maris. *Gesner.*

μῦθα, ¹ καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν ἡμέραν, κυμασάων τε καὶ
 τυρπάνων πάταγον, καὶ κραυγὴν μυρίαν. φόβος ἔν
 ἔλαθεν ἡμᾶς, καὶ οἱ μάνταις ἐκέλευον ἐκλείπειν τὴν
 νῆσον· ταχὺ δ' ἐκπλεύσαντες, παρημασόμεθα χώ-
 ραν διάπυρον Θυριαμάτων. μεσοὶ δ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς πυ-
 ράδας ῥύακας, ἐνέξαλλον εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. ἡ γῆ δ'
 ὑπὸ θέρμης, ἄεατος ἦν. ταχὺ ἔν κακῆθεν φοβηθέν-
 τες ἀπεπλεύσαμεν. τέταρτος δ' ἡμέρας φερόμενοι,
 νυκτὶ τὴν γῆν ἀφειρῶμεν, φλογὸς μεσῇν. ἐν μέσῳ
 δ' ἦν ² ἡλιστατόν τι πῦρ, τῶν ἄλλων μᾶλλον, ἀπτόμε-
 ιον ὥς ἐδόκει τῶν ἄστρον· ἔτος δ' ἡμέρας, ὄρος ἐφαί-
 νετο μέγιστον, ³ Θεῶν ὄχημα καλέμενον. τριταῖοι δ'
 ἐκῆθεν, πυράδας ῥύακας παραπλεύσαντες, ἀφικό-
 μεθα εἰς κόλπον, Νόττι Κέρας λεγόμενον. ἐν ᾗ τῷ
 μυχῇ, ⁴ νῆσος ἦν, εἰκυία τῇ πρώτῃ, λίμνην ἔχουσα
 καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ, νῆσος ἦν ἐτέρα, μεσῇ ἀνθρώπων ἀγρίων.
⁵ πολὺ ᾗ πλείους ἦσαν γυναῖκες, ⁶ δασεῖαι τοῖς σώ-
 μασιν.

¹ Hæc & hujusmodi de monte Atlante scribit Plinius in Historia Naturali, lib. 5. cap. 1.

² Ηλιστατός Poëtis excelsum significat, per syncopen pro ἡλιστατόν, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλίστην, ὅ ἐστιν ἀποτυχῆν τῆς βάσεως. Minus probantur qui adspirant, tanquam vocabulo ab ἡλίσθ & βάλω composito. Gesner.

³ Θεῶν ὄχημα, id est, *Deorum vehiculum*, ab altitudine ita dictum. Hic mons pars ejus esse videtur, qui *Deuchis* appellatur
 in

“ found of pipes, cymbals, drums, and confused shouts.
 “ We were then afraid, and our diviners ordered us to
 “ abandon the island. Sailing quickly away thence, we
 “ passed by a country burning with fires and perfumes;
 “ and streams of fire supplied thence fell into the sea.
 “ The country was impassable, on account of the heat.
 “ We sailed quickly thence, being much terrified; and
 “ passing on for four days, we discovered at night a
 “ country full of fire. In the middle was a lofty fire,
 “ larger than the rest, which seemed to touch the stars.
 “ When day came, we discovered it to be a large hill,
 “ called the Chariot of the Gods. On the third day after
 “ our departure thence, having sailed by those streams of
 “ fire, we arrived at a bay called the Southern Horn;
 “ at the bottom of which lay an island like the former,
 “ having a lake, and in this lake another island, full of
 “ savage people, the greater part of whom were women,
 “ whose bodies were hairy, and whom our interpreters
 “ called

in nostris tabulis, nomine etiam vicino quasi *Theuochu*: à quo non multum distat, qui *Jovis mons* dicitur. *Idem.*

⁴ Hæc quidem insula terminus fuit navigationum Hannonis. Ex descriptione vero ejus manifestè apparet eandem esse, atque sit illa, quæ hodie *Palmifera*, ab aliis vero *S. Annæ* insula appellatur. *Vossius* ad Melam, pag. 305.

⁵ Non rectè Hannoni adfingit Mela, insulam hanc habitari à feminis solis: cum utriusque sexus homines in ea insula fuisse scribat, quamvis multo plures feminas.

⁶ Dari integros populos toto corpore hirtos, satis ostendunt cum alia loca, tum præcipue terræ illæ supra Japoniam sitæ. *Voss.*

μασιν. ὡς οἱ ἐρμηνέες ἐκάλεον ¹ Γοργίλλας. διώκον-
 τες δ', αἰῶδας μὲν, συλλαβοῦν ἐκ ἡδυνήθημεν. ἀλλὰ
 πάντες μὲν ἐξέφυγον, ² κρημνοβάδῃ ὄντες, καὶ τοῖς
³ μετρηίοις ἀμυνόμενοι. γυναῖκας δ' τρεῖς, αἱ δάκνυ-
 σαί τε καὶ σπαράττισαι τὰς ἄγοντας, ἐκ ἡθελον ἔ-
 πελθ. ἀποκλείναί τις μὲντοι αὐτάς, ἐξεδείξαμεν, καὶ τὰς
 δοξὰς ἐκομίσαμεν εἰς Καρχηδονία. καὶ γὰρ ἔτι ἐπλεύ-
 σαμένων προσωτέρω, τῶν σίτων ἡμᾶς ὀπιλιπόντων.

¹ Forſan Γοργιδες ab interpretibus Lixitis vocabantur.

² Eoſdem ἡλιθίας dixeris. *Gefner.*

³ Repono πέτραις, ſicut & ſupra legitur. *Idem.*

Τ Ε Λ Ο Σ.

“ called Gorillæ. Though we pursued the men, we could
“ not seize any of them ; but all fled from us, escaping
“ over the precipices, and defending themselves with
“ stones. Three women were however taken ; but they
“ attacked their conductors with their teeth and hands,
“ and could not be prevailed on to accompany us. Hav-
“ ing killed them, we flayed them, and brought their
“ skins with us to Carthage. We did not sail farther on,
“ our provisions failing us.”

F I N I S.

DISSERTATION I.

THE discoveries which were made by the improvement of the art of navigation, about the period of the revival of literature, induced the learned to compare the voyages of the ancient navigators with those performed in their own time ; and the situations of places, as laid down in the old geographers, with those which had been recently observed. Amongst the works of the ancient authors that were thus illustrated by modern travels, were the *Periplus* of Hanno and the Tables of Ptolemy. The Greek text of the *Periplus* was first published, (as Hudson informs us), by Sigismond Gelenius at Basil, in 1533. The edition of Conrad Gefner appeared soon after, with the addition of a Latin translation and Leo's Africa. The second edition of Ramusio's Collection of Voyages was published in 1544, which contained an Italian version, and an elucidation of

the Periplus, from the verbal narrative of a Portuguese commander, who was accustomed to trade to the island of St Thomas. As the circumstance is connected with the history of literature in the beginning of the sixteenth century, I shall relate it in the translated words of the Italian original.

“ Having observed, in this voyage of Hanno,
“ many parts worthy of attention, I thought I
“ should give great satisfaction to the learned,
“ if I wrote out some few remarks that I have
“ inserted at different times in my journals, and
“ which I have heard related in conversation by
“ a Portuguese commander, a native of the
“ town of Condi, whose name is concealed for
“ proper reasons. This person, who had arrived
“ at Venice with a ship laden with sugars from
“ the island of St Thomas, became the familiar
“ friend and acquaintance of the Count Rimon-
“ do della Torse, a nobleman of Verona, who
“ was residing for his amusement at Venice,
“ being known to every person distinguished for
“ his skill in the art of navigation, for his ele-
“ gant knowledge, or extensive reading. He
“ himself likewise had collected a great store of
“ information, and had studied the Tables of
“ Ptolemy in particular. He was continually
“ soliciting the Portuguese with invitations to
“ his house whilst he remained at Venice, be-
“ cause

“ cause he received peculiar pleasure from the
“ accounts of the new voyages. This com-
“ mander having frequently sailed to the island
“ of St Thomas, which lies under the equinoc-
“ tial line, had not neglected either port, river,
“ or mountain, on the western coast of Africa.
“ He had seen and described them, with all the
“ circumstances of height, extent, and num-
“ ber of leagues, and had noted them down on
“ certain papers, so that he could converse on
“ these subjects very particularly and very in-
“ telligently. The Count Rimondo having read
“ the voyage above mentioned, the Portuguese
“ was much pleased and astonished to find, that
“ this coast had been discovered two thousand
“ years, for it had not been explored, by the
“ command of any prince, the entire space of
“ 100 years before the time of the Infante Don
“ Henry of Portugal. It appeared to him like-
“ wise an extraordinary circumstance, that this
“ commander, Hanno, should have possessed so
“ much courage to navigate it at so early a pe-
“ riod, since, from his own account, and the
“ Tables of Ptolemy, he had proceeded within
“ a degree of the equinoctial line, having nei-
“ ther compass nor chart, things invented a long
“ time afterwards.”

Although many subsequent writers have ex-
amined and explained the Periplus, yet much
still

still remains without any explanation. The present attempt will be chiefly employed in shewing what degree of truth is mixed with what has been supposed to be entirely a fable: and I do not *assert*, either that Hanno performed the voyage, or composed the narrative; but that a voyage was performed, from which the materials of the present narrative were collected. We are now to consider the circumstances in detail which are related in the Periplus.

The commencement has a very singular introduction, which contains the decree of the senate of Carthage, and the name of Hanno in the third person singular; and the narrative immediately follows, beginning in the first person plural *. I am inclined to think, that this title might have been affixed by the Carthaginians themselves as a kind of explanation, or an index, for the use of those persons who might resort to the temple of Saturn to examine such public records.

We are informed, that Hanno performed his voyage with sixty ships of fifty oars each, and that this fleet contained a body of men and women, to the number of 30,000, with provisions'

* “ It was decreed by the Carthaginians, that Hanno
“ should undertake a voyage.—He sailed accordingly.—
“ When we had passed the pillars on our voyage.” Page 5.

sions and other necessaries *. Bougainville supposed it so difficult to convey so great a number of persons, and such a supply of various requisites in these vessels, that he has concluded some error must have been committed with respect to the figures, either by the Greek translator, or by the copyist. “ D’ailleurs, (says he),
 “ les vaisseaux anciens ne paroissent pas avoir
 “ été construits de manière à pouvoir contenir
 “ autant de monde que ceux de modernes, même
 “ en les supposant d’une grandeur égale †.” We shall not, I think, be compelled to resort to any supposition of this kind. Florus relates, that the Carthaginian vessels, in the engagement with Caius Lutatius, were of extraordinary dimensions. “ The fleet of the enemy
 “ (that is the Carthaginians) was loaded with
 “ stores, with soldiers, with towers, and with
 “ arms, and appeared to convey even Carthage
 “ itself; which circumstance was the cause of
 “ its destruction ‡.” The ships in Anthony’s fleet at the battle of Actium, which were mostly of African construction, are described by the same
 author

* And yet Gesner does not think that Hanno furnished his cities with inhabitants. Why then did he carry out so many idle passengers ?

† Acad. des Inscrip. T. xxvi. p. 45.

‡ Lib. ii. c. 2. sect. 34.

author, “ as being built from six to nine banks
 “ of oars ; besides this, having been raised with
 “ towers and decks, so as to resemble cities and
 “ forts, they were borne along, not without the
 “ groaning of the sea and the labouring of the
 “ winds, which size contributed to their de-
 “ struction *.” If the authority of this testi-
 mony should be thought to be diminished by
 the inflated language in which it is couched,
 we may still defend the original calculation by
 some passages from Polybius. He is comparing
 together the Roman and Carthaginian fleets.
 “ The whole Roman fleet consisted of a hun-
 “ dred and forty thousand men, each vessel con-
 “ taining *one hundred and twenty soldiers and*
 “ *three hundred seamen.* On the other hand,
 “ the forces of the Carthaginians, whose prepa-
 “ rations were made wholly for the sea, amount-
 “ ed to more than 150,000, if we compute them
 “ from the number of the ships †.” We may
 perhaps be allowed to infer, that as the number
 420 is assumed as the standard in both instances,
 each ship had only its usual complement of men.
 Thirty thousand persons, distributed amongst
 sixty vessels, will allow five hundred to each,
 and the difference is not very large between
 the

* Lib. 4. c. vi. sect. 5.

† Polybius, lib. i. c. 2.

the two numbers *. These arguments perhaps may establish the probability of the numbers specified in the account of the embarkation. We must recollect also, that this voyage was not performed in the infancy of the art of navigation amongst the Carthaginians, but when their commerce was flourishing. In the twelfth century, Richard I. of England took a vessel near Acon, which contained, as Dr Henry informs us from Matthew Paris, no fewer than fifteen hundred men. The words of Matthew Paris are these : “ Navis quædam permaxima, “ quam Dromundam appellant. Spe igitur per- “ ditâ evadendi mille trecentos præcepit rex in “ mari submergi, et ducentos vivos ad caute- “ lam reservavit †.” There was a vessel called *cogga* in use at this period, which contained 240 soldiers, exclusive of mariners. “ Ecce “ quinquaginta naves, quas vulgo *coggas* dicunt, “ cum XII millibus armatorum tanto gratiùs ve- “ niunt quanto nostris auxilium in arcto ma- “ jore defendunt ‡.”

We are informed, that after Hanno had sailed beyond the pillars, and had founded one city, and

* It should be considered, that Hanno's fleet acted as transports ; whereas those described by Polybius were equipped for fighting, and would not of course be encumbered with more men than were necessary for that purpose, and that of navigation.

† P. 136.

‡ Iter Hieros. Ric. I. p. 260.

and had proceeded on his voyage a few days, they came to a lake which was filled with *reeds*, where *elephants* and other animals were feeding. This is one of those passages, where we might expect to find the author of a forgery to have betrayed himself by inaccuracy. But even the natural historian cannot detect any error in the description. Ælian acquaints us *, that the elephant is so fond of *moist* and *soft* places, that it may be almost classed amongst the animals which live in *marshes*. And modern writers, (if the ancient should not be credited, on this subject), mention a marshy situation as the haunt of the elephant †.

After having passed this lake, Hanno founded several cities near the sea called, Caricon-ticos, Gytte, Acra, Melitta, and Arambys. These names seem to have been translated from the Punic into the Greek language, and to have been originally chosen as indicating the predominant local peculiarities. Bochart supposes Arambys to have been named from the vines growing in the neighbourhood, or on the situation of the colony ‡. Melitta he derives from a word that

* Æliani Hist. Nat. l. iv. c. 4.

† Pennant's Hist. of Quad. v. i. p. 151.

‡ "Proprie significat calicutam urbem, si verbo datur
"venia; id est, in qua condendâ multum calcis sit adhibitum,
"vel in structuras, vel etiam in tectoria." Not. in Han-
non. ed. Hudf. p. 2, 3.

that signifies a city in which a great quantity of mortar was employed. I at first had supposed that this word had been translated from the Punic into Greek, and consequently that it had received its appellation from the swarms of bees which abound in that climate, as we learn from the testimony of Mr Adanson. . But the signification assigned by Bochart appears to be the true one. Dr Shaw describes a city, constructed in a similar manner, and on the same coast. “ Most of the walls of Tlem-san have been built, “ or rather moulded in frames; a method of building, which Pliny informs us, (lib. xxxv. c. 14.) “ was used by the Africans and Spaniards in his “ time. The mortar of which they consist, is “ made up of sand, lime, and gravel, which, by “ being at first well tempered and wrought together, has attained a strength and solidity “ not inferior to stone. The several stages and “ removes of these frames are still observable; “ some of which are at least one hundred yards in “ length, and two yards in height and thickness; “ whereby may be estimated the immense quantity of this compost that was made use of at “ one time *.” We may conclude, from the simple manner in which such buildings might be erected, that the colonies might live in tents till their other habitations were completed.

C

They

* Shaw's Travels, page 23.

They next arrived at the river Lixus, and we have an account of some of the inhabitants in its neighbourhood. The Troglodytæ are represented as men “ of various appearances, whom the Lixitæ described as swifter in running than horses.” I have translated *αλλοιομορφος* “ of various appearances ;” it should rather have been, “ of an appearance different from the natives whom we had seen before.” The best explanation of the expression is to be found in this passage of Dr Robertson’s America : “ As far as the river Senegal, the Portuguese had found the coast of Africa inhabited by people nearly resembling the Moors of Barbary. When they advanced to the south of that river, the human form seemed to put on a new appearance. They beheld men with skins black as ebony, with short curled hair, flat noses, thick lips, and all the peculiar features, which are now known to distinguish the race of negroes*.” It is added, that the Lixitæ described them as swifter in running than horses. It might at first be imagined, that this comparison would be more natural to a Carthaginian than to one of the Lixitæ, and that the writer of the voyage had betrayed himself. The passage seems to relate to a custom of horse-racing ; and that custom may perhaps be traced in the name of a place mentioned in the map of Ptolemy, and called

* Vol. i. p. 46. edit. 4to.

called Hippodromus Æthiopiæ, or Hypodromus. It is called ἵπποδρομος by Agathemerus, and no doubt can remain respecting the reason of its appellation; for the Ethiopians that live near the place he calls Hippophagi*. The Troglodytæ are said to be at the distance of three days sail from Cerne or the isle of Arguin, with which it is justly thought to correspond. When the isle of Arguin belonged to the Portuguese, they carried on a trade which resembled that of the ancients with respect to the different articles. The Portuguese trade, like that of the Phœnicians, consisted in linen-cloth, as I shall attempt to shew in the second dissertation. But Barbot informs us, that, amongst other things, “ the Portuguese barter for slaves, “ gold, ostrich-feathers, and Barbary *horses*, for “ one of which they had twelve or fifteen slaves “ in *Nigritia* †.” The country, which in situation seems nearly to agree with the Hippodromus Æthiopiæ, and the place where they procured these horses, seems to have been in the neighbourhood of the Lixitæ.

The fleet next advanced beyond Cerne, till they came to a river large and broad, and full
of

* Περὶ μὲν τῶν Αἰθιοπικῶν καλεσμένων ἵπποδρομῶν Αἰθιοπεῖς ἱπποφάγοι. Agathem. lib. ii. c. 5. p. 41.

† Coll. of Voyag. and Trav. vol. v. p. 530.

of crocodiles and river-horses. These animals were formerly said to bear a natural antipathy to each other, and consequently some suspicion of a forgery might arise, since they are here said to be in a kind of social state. But we learn from Pennant *, and the authors quoted in his work, that, “among other errors related of them, “ (that is, the hippopotami), is that of their en-
 “ mity with the crocodile, an eye-witness decla-
 “ ring he had seen them swimming together
 “ without any disagreement.

“ Among the ancient paintings in the Rospi-
 “ g'iosi palace, are some most ludicrous repre-
 “ sentations of the chase of both these animals
 “ by pygmies with long beards, and the scenery
 “ suitable. The painter, in the circumstance of
 “ the pygmies, dealt in the fiction of the times :
 “ in the former he shewed his knowledge of the
 “ hippopotame and the crocodile being joint te-
 “ nants of the same waters.

“ It was known to the Romans. Scaurus treat-
 “ ed the people with the fight of five crocodiles
 “ and one hippopotame during his edileship, and
 “ exhibited them in a temporary lake.”

Adanson, in the voyage above mentioned, speaks of them both as associating together.
 ‘ A river, from two to three hundred fathoms
 ‘ broad, the banks planted with trees of various
 “ kinds,

* Hist. of Quadrup. vol. i. p. 146.

“ kinds, and the leaves in perpetual verdure ;
 “ the numerous droves of elephants walking on
 “ its borders, the sea-horses, crocodiles, with an
 “ infinite multitude of other very extraordinary
 “ animals, seemed to open an ample field for new
 “ and important observations.”

Having returned to Cerne, and sailed towards the south for twelve days, near the coast, they came, towards the last of these twelve days, to some mountains covered with trees, the wood of which was *sweet-scented and variegated*, similar to that of those trees observed by Adanson * ;
 “ Here, says he, are most beautiful tamarisks, *red*
 “ *gum-trees*, and several other sorts of thorny acacias, the wood of which is extremely hard, and,
 “ *in the colour and beauty of its veins*, not unlike
 “ those which we use in inlaid work.” It was from this coast that the wood was procured, from which the cedar tables were fabricated, that were such expensive articles of luxury at Rome. They were esteemed for the beauty of their veins and colours; and those were most highly valued which resembled the eyes in the feathers of the peacock’s tail. “ Anchorarius mons vocatur ci-
 “ terioris Mauritaniæ, qui laudatissimam dedit
 “ cedrum, jam exhaustus. Mensis præcipua dos
 “ in venâ crispis, vel in vertice variis. Illud ob-
 “ longo evenit discursu, ideoque tigrinæ appel-
 “ lantur :

* P. 83.

“*lantur : hoc intorto, et ideo tales pantherinæ*
 “*vocantur. Sunt et undatim crispæ, majore gra-*
 “*tia, si pavonum caudæ oculos imitentur *.*”
 The perfume, which is mentioned, is observed
 by Pliny in the preceding chapter, “*Insularum*
 “*arbores ambitu Æthiopix, et nemora odo-*
 “*rata, in mentione earum dicta sunt.*” Milton
 has beautifully alluded to a similar circum-
 stance :

As when to them who sail
 Beyond the Cape of Hope, and now are past
 Mozambic, off at sea north-east winds blow
 Sabea odour, from the spicy shore
 Of Araby the Blest'd ; with such delay
 Well pleas'd they slack their course, and many a league
 Cheer'd with the grateful smell old Ocean smiles.

Par. Lost, b. iv.

Solinus, speaking of the trees that grew on
 mount Atlas, has this expression, “*Quarum odor*
 “*gravis †.*”

They afterwards came to a plain, from which
 they saw by night fire arising at intervals ; a
 sight, as we shall observe in another part of the
 account, common at present in that part of Afri-
 ca. They then coasted the shore for five days,
 and arrived at an island, where, during the night,
 many

* Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xiii. c. 15.

† Cap. 27.

many fires were observed ; and the sound of pipes, cymbals, and drums, and confused shouts, was heard. This circumstance is mentioned by Pliny, and in Ramusio * ; and is explained, with few variations, by Mr Bruce. “ In countries, such
 “ as we have been now describing, and such as
 “ Hanno was then sailing by, when he made the
 “ remark, there is no twilight. The stars, in
 “ their full brightness, are in possession of the
 “ whole heavens, when, in an instant, the sun
 “ appears without an harbinger, and they all
 “ disappear together. We shall say, at sun-
 “ rising, the thermometer is from 48° to 60°.
 “ At three o’clock in the afternoon, it is from
 “ 100° to 115°. An universal relaxation, a kind
 “ of irresistible languor, and aversion to all ac-
 “ tion, takes possession of both man and beast ;
 “ the

* “ Questi fuochi diceva detto piloto verdersi infino al
 “ presente da tutti quelli che navigano la costa di Senega, di
 “ Ghinea et delle Mellegghette : conciosia cosa che i Negri,
 “ che habitano alle marine, et colli vicini a quelle, sentono
 “ grandissimo caldo, et per questo stanno nascosi tutto il
 “ giorno nelle case loro, quando il sol e in questi nostri
 “ segni settentrionali, et hanno il maggior giorno dodici hore,
 “ et mezza, et che come si fa notte con facelle et legni ac-
 “ cesi che ardono come torchi, si veggono andar hor quà, hor
 “ là facendo le lor bisogne ; et di lontano in mare apparono
 “ final fuochi et si sentono molti romori et strepiti di corni
 “ et d’altro che fanno i detti Negri.” Viaggi di Ramusio,
 tom. i. pag. 123.

“ the appetite fails, and sleep and quiet are the
“ only things the mind is capable of desiring,
“ or the body of enduring. Cattle, birds, and
“ beasts, all flock to the shade, and to the neigh-
“ bourhood of running streams, or deep stagnant
“ pools. From the same motive, the wild beast
“ stirs not from his cave ; and for this too he has
“ an additional reason : because the cattle he
“ depends upon for his prey do not stir abroad
“ to feed ; they are asleep and in safety, for with
“ them are their dogs, and their shepherds.
“ But no sooner does the sun set, than a cold
“ night instantly succeeds a burning day ; the
“ appetite immediately returns, the cattle spread
“ themselves abroad to feed, and pass quietly
“ out of the shepherds sight, into the reach of
“ a multitude of beasts seeking for their prey.
“ Fires, the only remedy, are every where light-
“ ed by the shepherds to keep these at a re-
“ spectful distance ; and dancing, singing, and
“ music, at once exhilarate the mind, and con-
“ tribute, by alarming the beasts of prey, to
“ keep their flocks in safety, and prevent the
“ bad effects of severe cold. This was the cause
“ of the observation Hanno made, sailing along
“ the coast ; and it was true when he made it.
“ Just the same may be observed still, and will
“ be, so long as the climate and inhabitants are
“ the same *.”

They

* Bruce's Travels, vol. ii. p. 565, &c.

They then passed by a country burning with fire, which was accompanied with perfumes ; and streams of fire, supplied thence, fell into the sea. This fact likewise is excellently illustrated by Mr Bruce. “ After the fire,” says he, “ (which was lighted for the purposes of destroying the cover for the animals which they hunt), has consumed all the dry grass in the plain, and, from it, done the same up to the top of the highest mountains, the large ravines or gullies, made by the torrents falling from the higher ground, being shaded by their depth, and their being in possession of the last water that runs, are the latest to take fire, though full of every sort of herbage. The large bamboos, hollow canes, and such like plants, growing as thick as they can stand, retain their greenness, and are not dried enough for burning, till the fire has cleared the grass from all the rest of the country ; at last, when no other fuel remains, the herdsmen on the top of the mountains set fire to these, and the fire runs down in the very path in which, some months before, the water ran, filling the whole gully with flame, which does not end till it is checked by the ocean below, where the torrent of water entered, and where the fire of course ceases. This I have often seen myself, and been often nearly enclosed

D

“ closed in it ; and can bear witness, that, at a
 “ distance, and by a stranger ignorant of the
 “ cause, it would hardly be distinguished from
 “ a river of fire.” A learned friend suggested
 an alteration of this passage respecting the fires
 and perfumes : Παρημειβομεθα χωραν διαπυρον
 θυμιαματων. μεσοι δ’ απ’ αυτης πυρωδεις ρυακες,
 ενεβαλλον εις την θαλατταν. The correction was
 this ; διαπυρων θυμιαματων μεσην. And this
 idea is confirmed by a subsequent and similar
 mode of expression ; —νυκτος την γην αφωρωμεν
 φλογος μεσην. The translation of the passage
 would likewise be different ; and the same friend
 proposes, “ full of fiery or volcanic exhalations.”
 Dr Hooke, in his Theory of Earthquakes, ren-
 ders it, “ burning with stinking volcanoes.”
 As the country abounded with odorous trees,
 the fires which were kindled by the natives
 might have been fed by this flame.

The country, we are told, was impassable on
 account of the heat. This expression, which
 seems to indicate the ignorance of the naviga-
 tors, does not convey any excuse for their not
 visiting the country, which cannot be justified.
 The Carthaginians might have expressed a wish
 to their interpreters, to examine the country ;
 and they might have been informed, that it was
 impassable from the heat ; that it was inaccessible
 to

to persons who were strangers and unaccustomed to endure such a violent change of temperature. The Portuguese were affected in the same manner, as we may suppose the Carthaginians were on their voyage. “ When they began to enter
 “ the torrid zone, the notion which prevailed
 “ among the ancients, that the excessive heat,
 “ which reigned perpetually there, was so fatal
 “ to life as to render it uninhabitable, deterred
 “ them, for some time, from proceeding. Their
 “ own observations, when they first ventured in-
 “ to this unknown and formidable region, tend-
 “ ed to confirm the opinion of antiquity con-
 “ cerning the violent operation of the direct rays
 “ of the sun *.”

“ I had to walk,” says Mr Adanson, “ on sands,
 “ which it would be incorrect to call by any o-
 “ ther epithet than burning, since, even in the
 “ most moderate weather, they experienced there
 “ a heat of 60° and upwards, as I afterwards
 “ found by the observations, which I scrupulously
 “ followed with M. de Reaumur’s thermometer.
 “ My shoes grew tough like horn, then cracked,
 “ and fell away to powder; even the feet of my
 “ negroes were chopped.” Sallust has used si-
 “ milar expressions in describing the same country.
 “ Super Numidiam Gætulos accepimus, partim
 “ in

* Robertson’s Hist. of America, vol. i. p. 46. edit. 4to.

“ in tuguriis, alios incultius vagos agitare ; post
 “ eos Æthiopas esse ; dein loca exusta solis ardo-
 “ ribus *.”

After a few days sail they reached an island full of savage people, the greater part of whom were women, whose bodies were hairy, and whom our interpreters called Gorillæ. Bougainville thinks, that these inhabitants were pongos, or the large species of monkey. The words *ανθρωπων αργων* answer to the *homo silvestris* of Bontius, to our *man of the wood*, and to the French *homme de bois* : all appellations given by natural historians to the true ape. The translation then of the words above mentioned, will have a singular appearance ; but it is probable, that the Carthaginians used the same language as Sir J. Mandeville has employed. speaking of the same kind of animal, as it is justly supposed †. He says he came to “ another yle where the *folk* ben alle
 “ skynned roughe here as a rough best, saf on-
 “ ly the face, and the pawme of the hand ‡.” I
 am

* Bell. Jugurth. c. xix. Solinus mentions it as an opinion of most people in his time, that the southern parts of Africa were impenetrable to the human race by reason of the excessive heat. “ Quamplurimi propter solis ardorem perviam
 “ negaverunt. Idem opinioni plurimorum, qui ob solis fla-
 “ grantiam maximam partem illius regionis ferunt humano
 “ generi inaccessum, sic reluctatur,” &c. Cap. lx.

† Pennant, vol. i. p. 168.

‡ P. 361.

am inclined to think, that the savage men who were cloathed in the skins of wild beasts; and who drove the Carthaginians away by throwing stones, and prevented their landing, were of this description. The strength of the pongo, and the dexterity of the defence with such weapons, strongly favour the conjecture *. The following account of this animal, as extracted from Purchas's Collection, is worthy our attention: " A
 " flat face, and a deformed resemblance of the
 " human ; ears exactly like those of a man ;
 " hair on the head longer than on the body,
 " body and limbs covered with reddish and shag-
 " gy hair ; longest on the back, thinnest on the
 " fore parts, buttocks covered with hair :—
 " Inhabit the interior parts of Africa and the
 " isle of Borneo ; grow to the height of six feet ;
 " have prodigious strength ; will overpower the
 " strongest man. The old ones are shot with
 " arrows ; only the young can be taken alive :
 " Will attack and kill the negroes who wander
 " in the woods ; will drive away the elephants,
 " and beat them with their fists, or pieces of
 " wood ; will throw stones at people that offend
 " them."

* Strabo gives an account, from Onesicritus, of a defence, of nearly the same kind, made by animals of this description, when attacked amongst precipices : Πέτροκυλισσαι δ' εἰναι πέληκες, οἱ λίθους κατακυλισσὶν ὑψηλοτάτους ἐπὶ τῆς διακρίτας. Strab. lib. xv. p. 710. ed. Paris.

“ them.” Hanno says, “ Though we pursued
“ the men, we could not seize any of them ;
“ but all fled from us, escaping over the precipi-
“ ces, and defending themselves with stones.”

They did not advance beyond this part of the coast.

Such then is the voyage which has been supposed to be a forgery. Some facts and phenomena appear to be less distinctly described than others, because the method of obtaining the knowledge of them was different in different instances. Many circumstances are represented as they appeared from the ship ; some as they appeared on such an examination as a short stay would allow ; and others as they were related to them by their interpreters. Under all these disadvantages, those things which are permanent in their nature have received the confirmation of subsequent enquiries ; and we ought not to withhold our belief from the remainder of the narrative, when so much truth has been discovered where we have had a guide.

DISSE-

DISSERTATION II.

THE length of Mr Dodwell's dissertation, the language in which it is written, chronological calculations respecting early and dark periods, remote researches into the history and antiquities of nations concerning which we have few records, and accumulated masses of quotations from ancient writers, have contributed to give an importance to Mr Dodwell's opinions, which, in their abstract state, it is not presumption to say, they do not possess *. A monkey
and

* The Baron de Sainte Croix thus expresses himself:
"Hudson a cru sans doute enrichir son recueil par les longues dissertations chronologiques de Dodwell, sur l'age de chaque geographe. A travers beaucoup de discussions fatigantes et epineuses la verité s'y laisse rarement appercevoir, l'esprit systematique la derobant aux yeux de l'auteur." *Memoire sur une nouvelle edition des petits Geographes anciens.* — It is somewhat ludicrous to read the following words in Hudson's preface, respecting the arrangement

and a mummy have been found in the shrine of a temple, and in the recesses of a pyramid. The external appearance of Mr Dodwell's dissertation is almost sufficient to deter the most persevering curiosity from an examination of his objections ; and the credit which they have obtained must be traced to the authority of his name.

If the reader should suspect, that some misrepresentation is concealed in the apparent weakness of some of Mr D.'s positions, he will perceive, on a reference to the disquisition, that their form has not been altered ; and if he should suppose that the weakest have been selected, he will observe that arguments still weaker than these might have been produced. They were designed to shew, that the latitude of supposition in which Mr D. has indulged himself, would tend neither to the detection of falsehood, nor to the vindication of truth. Mr Dodwell's dissertation, " Concerning the time
" when

ment of the minor geographers : " —*loco auctorum cuique*
" *tributo pro ætatis ratione, quâ ipsum floruisse credidi ; do-*
" *nec clarior mihi lux affulserat ex dissertationibus planè lu-*
" *culentis, quas mecum communicare dignatus est summus*
" *ille rei chronologicæ arbiter Henricus Dodwellus ;*" and Dodwell, in his dedication of his Dissertations to Hudson, saying, " Non possum equidem tæx vel amicitia quidpiam fa-
" cile negare." The proof of his friendship was an attempt to shew, that the two first pieces in his friend's collection were spurious.

“ when the *Periplus* of Hanno was written,” commences with remarks on the opinions of Isaac Vossius respecting its antiquity. Although I do not adopt all the opinions of Vossius, I shall offer some observations on what Mr D. has delivered in opposition to the sentiments of that writer.

I shall not vindicate that extravagant supposition of Vossius, which refers the antiquity of the *Periplus* to the time of Perseus ; a period which, according to the best accounts, preceded the foundation of Carthage 1200 years.

Mr D. censures Vossius for imagining that the Gorgons and Gorillæ had any reference to each other ; and observes, that it was not the Greeks, nor even the Carthaginian Hanno himself, who gave them this appellation, but the interpreters, whom they had procured from the Lixitæ ; and that it is probable, that this word *Gorilla* is of African origin, whereas the word *Gorgon* is a Greek word.

But Vossius might think, that there was some connection between them, when almost all the writers of antiquity place the Gorgons nearly at least in the same situation in which Hanno says that he discovered the Gorillæ. Hesiod describes them as living beyond the ocean, that is the Mediterranean, and far removed towards the
E west.

west *. Xenophon Lampfacenus, an ancient geographer quoted by Pliny †, has mentioned the seat of the Gorgons (the Gorgades Insulæ) to have been opposite the promontory of the Western Horn, which place occurs in the narrative of Hanno. Pomponius Mela and Solinus give the same account of the Gorgades Insulæ, which they consider as the habitation of the Gorgons, and almost in the same words ‡. To these testimonies, Isidorus has added, that the islands received their name from the Gorgons their inhabitants §. Vossius may perhaps be excused, in assenting to the opinions of so many respectable writers of antiquity, whose means of information we may reasonably think were superior to any that Mr D., however extensive his erudition might be, could at this period supply.

What this learned author has said concerning the origin of the respective terms Gorillæ and Gorgons, may possibly bear some dispute. Athenæus

* Theogon. v. 274.

† Plin. N. H. lib. vi. c. 31.

‡ Mela, lib. iii. c. 9. *ad fin.* Solin. cap. 56.

§ It appears also from Strabo, that Eratosthenes thought, that the Hesperides, and the habitations of the Gorgons, were connected: *οτι ην των Γοργων και Εσπεριδων γαιονιστος.* Strab. lib. vii. p. 299. B.

thenæus informs us, that “ Alexander Myn-
 “ dius, a writer of natural history, expressly says,
 “ that there was in Libya an animal, called by
 “ the Nomades a Gorgon, and that it was princi-
 “ pally marked out and distinguished by its skin,
 “ which resembled that of a wild sheep, or, as
 “ others say, that of a calf.” The interpreters
 from the Lixitæ might render Gorgons by Go-
 rillæ, to make it intelligible to the Carthagi-
 nians, or it might be only the same word ac-
 cording to different dialects.

The above account from Athenæus affords an
 answer to Mr D.’s argument, that the Greek my-
 thologists have not mentioned the hairy skins of
 the Gorgons†. The testimony of a natural histo-
 rian, that, in Libya, there were animals with
 hairy skins, which were called Gorgons by the
 natives, is certainly preferable to the silence of
 a mythologist.

The

* Ἰσορὴ Αλεξάνδρου ὁ Μενδίου ἐν δευτέρῳ Κτηνιατρικῆς ἱστορίας βιβλίου,
 τὸν Γόργονα οὕτως καλεῖ· ὅτι ἐν Λιβύῃ Νόμωδες. Ἔστι δὲ ὡς ὅτι μὲν
 πλείστοι λεγούσιν ἐκ τῆς ἐορᾶς σιμικιμμένον πρόβατον ὡς αἰετὶς ὡς
 δὲ οἱ Σατιμόχοι. P. 221. ed. Casaub. Alexander Myndius
 is quoted by Plutarch, in the life of Caius Marius. It is
 well known, that sheep, in hot countries, lose their wool,
 and become hairy.

† “ De pellibus Gorgonum hirsutis nihil quicquam Græ-
 “ ci mythologi.” Dodwell.

The question, whether the fable of the Gorgons and Perseus was known to Homer, must be slightly noticed in the present discussion. I shall therefore only observe, that the words of Homer intimate, that the sight of the Gorgon's head, would be attended with the most dreadful effects, and similar to those, which are attributed to it by later mythologists* ; and that the words of Hesychius are understood, by a learned critic of the present age, to signify no more than that Homer made no use of the fable of the Gorgon in the conduct of his narrative †.

Mr D. next comments on the situation, where the Gorgons were placed by Hesiod as being beyond the ocean, and not far distant from the Hesperides ‡. This, says he, was not, because,

in

* ——— ἡμεῖς τὴν γλῶσσαν διὸς ἔχου
Μη μοι Γοργεῖα καὶ ἀλὼ δεινοῖο πειλῶν
Ἐξ Ἀΐδος πρὸς αἴαντα Περσεΐδην. Od. xi. 632.

Εἰ δὲ τὴν Γοργεῖα καὶ ἀλὼ δεινοῖο πειλῶν
Δεῖται τὴν σμικρὴν τὴν Διὸς τετρας αἰγιόχοιο. Il. v. 741.

The Scholiast renders this by Εὐκλ. Μιδωκῆς Γοργεῖα.

† “ Nam quod Hesiodum auctorem edunt viri docti, ut
“ Dodwell. Diff. de Hannon. Periplo, sect. 3. pravâ inter-
“ pretatione verborum Hesychii faciunt, qui in Γοργεῖα, ut su-
“ præ vidimus, Homerum fabulas has ignorare, h. e. iis
“ non uti, ait.” Ch. G. Heyne, Not. ad Appollodor. lib. ii.
sect. 4. p. 296.

‡ “ Et situm illarum ponit (Hesiodos) ultra Oceanum,
“ nec longe ab Hesperidibus.” Dodwell, sect. 3.

in that age, islands in that situation were better known ; but as it was better suited to the purposes of poetic fable, that they should be less known, and less apprehension would arise that any correct information should be received concerning them in future times.

Nothing is more apt to mislead in historical enquiries, than conjectures respecting the motives which induced persons in remote periods to act as they have done. We have the greatest reason to think, from the accounts of later ages, that Hesiod placed the Gorgons in the situation above described, from some tradition prevalent in his time, and not for the reasons assigned by Mr Dodwell. The scenes of the stories of the Hydra and the Stymphalides, both of which were slain by Hercules, in an age posterior to that of the destruction of the Gorgons by Perseus, and equally monstrous and incredible, were both of them laid in Greece, as were many others of similar character ; and if we credit the opinions of later writers, the East, and not the West, was the principal scene of poetic fable :

———*quæ loca fabulosus*

Lambit Hydaspes.

HOR. L. i. od. 22.

Crete, Cyprus, Egypt, and the coast of Ionia, were much more fertile in fabulous and extravagant

vagant stories than those western regions, which were regarded at that time, as “ beyond the visible diurnal sphere.”

Nor does the learned author appear to have any better foundation for his next position, that the ancient seat of the Gorgons was in Cyrene, near Egypt. This first argument is drawn from Herodotus, who says, that Perseus was reported to have come to Egypt in his way to the country of the Gorgons. Now, says Mr D. *, this would have been too much out of his way, whether he had set out from Argos or Seriphus, if his expedition was intended against a country that lay beyond the pillars of Hercules. Mr D. seems here not to have recollected what he had been saying respecting the imperfection of ancient navigation. A vessel in our times would probably never fail to Egypt under such circumstances ; but, in those infant ages of navigation, it was the most eligible, if not the only course that could have been pursued. Egypt had been in all ages the great emporium and centre of intercourse with Greece and the other civilized countries of Europe. The way to it was consequently well known ; and when they were arrived there, they might follow the coast to their place of destination. Had they set out with a view to sail directly for the Straits, they would have had a
sea

* Sect. 5.

sea voyage of four times the distance as it was to Egypt ; would have been obliged to sail through seas with which they were unacquainted, and in an oblique course, or, as the seamen call it, sailing on a rhumb ; things to which they were altogether unequal. Besides, in those times, they probably could not victual, or fit out ships for long voyages, so that they were compelled to resort often to port to procure supplies. Egypt was a place the best calculated for this purpose, as it abounded in provisions and other stores, which were at that time used in navigation *.

Mr D. supposes, that the opinion, that the country of the Gorgons lay beyond the Straits, originated from the circumstance of their being joined by Hesiod with the Hesperides, (a very slight foundation for a position in geography); and then proceeds to shew, that the real country of the Hesperides, here alluded to, was situated on the shore of Africa near Berenice, in the neighbourhood of the larger Syrtis. The gardens of the Hesperides are undoubtedly described to be there, and perhaps some of the islands of the Syrtis, if any exist, (for d'Anville's maps, neither ancient nor modern, exhibit any), might,
from

* Herodotus mentions, that the Egyptian ships were the most useful of any to the Persians at the naval battle of Artemisium.

from their proximity, be called after them ; but, in the first place, they seem to have been too inconsiderable for the notice of Hesiod, and by no means agree with his expressions,

———περην πλυτὸς Ωκεανοῖο
Εσχατὴν πρὸς νυκτὸς·

Theog. 274.

In order to reconcile this difficulty, Mr D. would lead us to think, that the bounds of what is here called the Ocean, were not understood to extend farther than Berenice, as he says it was not determined at that time, whether the continent of Lybia, was to be extended beyond the nearer side of the greater Syrtis. But whatever might have been esteemed the bounds of Libya, we have no reason to think, that the bounds of the ocean were confined within such narrow limits. Ulysses is mentioned by Homer to have navigated the ocean to the island Circe, and to the coasts of Sicily, places many degrees to the westward of Berenice ; and it is worthy consideration, that Strabo applies the passage in Homer, which describes the Elysian fields, that were said to be at the extremities of the earth, to the Fortunate Islands *, which lay to the west, even of any place mentioned in the voyage of Hanno.

I

* Περὶ τὰ γαίῃ. Strab. p. 3.

I am inclined to believe, that the word used by Hesiod as an epithet to *Ωκεανοιο*, was intended to express, that the seat of the Gorgons lay beyond that sea, (*viz.* the Mediterranean), which had been the scene of great actions and heroic achievements, and that he dignifies it by the name of *πλутε*, to distinguish it from the Western Ocean. Had not Hesiod understood, that the Mediterranean sea was bounded as it is, he never would have expressed himself in the manner he has done, as the word *Ocean*, without any epithet to direct or limit its application, could not be said to have any bounds or termination whatever, but was itself the boundary to every thing *. “It is plain,” says Strabo, “both from reason
“and experience, that the habitable world is an
“island; and when men have travelled as far
“as they could, and to the extremities of the
“land, they have found a sea, which is called
“the Ocean; and whenever this word is not used
“in this sense, must appear from reason and
“observation of the subject.” The words then of Hesiod appear to agree, as well as could be
F expressed

* The shield of Achilles, in Homer, had the Ocean represented as flowing round it: “*Omnis terra, quæ colitur a
“vobis, parva quedam insula est, circumfusa illo mari, quod
“Atlanticum, quod magnum, quem Oceanum appellatis in
“terris.*” Cic. Somn. Scipion.

expressed in such short terms, with the situation of the Gorgons, as described by Hanno.

“ But,” says Mr D. “ it became necessary, as
 “ navigation gradually improved, to look for the
 “ Ocean, and the utmost western boundary fur-
 “ ther towards that point. The Hesperides
 “ then, and of course the neighbouring region of
 “ the Gorgons, was settled to be near the pillars
 “ of Hercules and the Straits of Cadiz. This
 “ was the opinion,” he says, “ which Palæphatus
 “ followed,” but still, so modified as to retain
 traces of the former opinion. “ For,” says he,
 “ he has determined Phorcyn, the father of the
 “ Gorgons, to have been a native of Cyrene, and
 “ has placed the island of Cyrene beyond the
 “ pillars of Hercules. But we do not find,” he
 adds, “ in any good author, any place of the
 “ name of Cyrene, or even of Cerne, in that si-
 “ tuation.” He therefore thinks it probable, that
 this mistake concerning the situation of Cyrene,
 arose from the early writers after Hesiod having
 placed the situation of the Hesperidean gardens
 in Cyrenæa.

But as Wesseling very properly observes, it
 could never be supposed that Cyrene, a city so
 celebrated, and so well known to the inhabi-
 tants of Greece, could ever be confounded by
 Palæphatus with an island situated beyond the
 pillars

pillars of Hercules*. He therefore thinks, that the reading in Palæphatus has been corrupted, and that for Cyrene we should read Cerne. The words indeed, as they now stand, bear as much resemblance to Cerne as to Cyrene, the Cambridge MS. reading *Κυρην*, and the Oxford MS. *Κυριν*; so that the probability is equally strong for one reading as the other. But this account of Palæphatus bears other evidence in favour of the genuineness, as well as the authenticity of Hanno's voyage, which Mr D. ought in candour to have noticed, namely, that the inhabitants of this island cultivate the country of Libya near the river Anno, or Ano, over against or opposite Carthage. The annotator observes, that this river was probably called after that navigator, and appears to have been that known by the name of Chretes. The other circumstance is consonant to what Hanno himself observes, who says, that

* Cyrene is repeatedly celebrated by Pindar for its horses and chariots: — *ἐν τῇ Κυρηνῇ* *Κυρηνῇ*

υἱοῖς.

And in another place he calls it, — *ὡς ἀγαθὸν πόλιν.*

Strabo says, that it was *πταρυγία ἀγίστη*. Callimachus, the poet, was a native of Cyrene. Cyrene was a large and opulent city at the time of the Carthaginian greatness.

“Quâ tempestate Carthaginenses pleraque Africæ imperiabant, Cyrenenses quoque magni atque opulenti fuere.”

Sallust. Bell. Jugurth. c. 79.

that this island lay in a direct line with Carthage. The testimony of Palæphatus, therefore, which is brought by Mr D. to invalidate the authenticity of Hanno's voyage, affords the most decisive argument in its favour.

It is probable, that some confusion may have taken place respecting the situation of the Gorgons, from the connection they were supposed to have with the Heiperides, which is a local appellation, and not sufficiently attended to by Mr Dodwell. It is not extraordinary, that many places should be called by a name that signified no more than a western situation. Italy itself was first called Heiperia, and the name was extended, as it is in modern languages, to a variety of places that bore such a relative position. Mr D. has been very industrious in selecting a number of these ; but he does not refute any thing in Hanno's voyage, in which the word itself never occurs ; and it is only by the interpretation of the word Gorillæ, that it has been drawn into the controversy.

Mr D., willing to find any situation for the islands above alluded to but that assigned by Hanno, has said, that Palæphatus has placed Cyrene, the seat of the Gorgons, at the pillars of Hercules * ; and having assumed this as a fact, he proceeds

* Ad columnas enim Herculeas suam Gorgonum sedem Cyrenen statuit ipse Palæphatus. Dodwell. Dissert.

proceeds to shew, that the islands near Cales in Spain, were the places that were intended to be described, and not any islands on the opposite shore of Africa. But Mr D. has misrepresented, both the literal sense of the words, and the implied meaning of Palæphatus. The words are : *Οικισι την νησον την Κυρηνην εξω σσαν των Ήρακλειων σηλων* ; which agree with the situation of the islands mentioned by Hanno better than with that assigned by Mr D. The next line, on which I have made some remarks, tells us, that these Cyrenicans, (as Mr D. would have them to be), situated in the bay of Cales, cultivate the country of Libya near the river Ano, puts it out of doubt, as such an employment, though perfectly suited to the account of Hanno, could never suit the hypothesis of Mr D.

In process of time, says Mr D., the seat of the Hesperides was removed from the Straits to the neighbourhood of mount Atlas. If Mr D. relies on the authority of Palæphatus, I trust I have before shewn, that it would be difficult to prove from that author, that the Hesperides were ever reputed to be placed in the Fretum Gaditanum. That countries discovered to the westward of those before known, might acquire, in succession, an appellation denoting their relative situation, is very probable, and seems to have

have been adopted in the *Periplus*, for whose authenticity we are now contending; where a promontory, which probably lay more to the westward than any before met with, is called the Western Horn. In succeeding ages, or perhaps as early, the term might be applied to the Fortunate Islands, in one of which, as being the most westerly country known, the first meridian was placed by all the ancient geographers, and continued even till the middle of the last century, and perhaps later. The term must be perpetually fluctuating, like what Pope says of the north :

Ask, where's the north ? At York, 'tis on the Tweed ;
In Scotland, at the Orcades ; and there
In Greenland, Zembla, or the Lord knows where.

At last, however, Mr D. seems to allow, that the island Cerne might be reckoned amongst the Hesperides, which is to grant more than was required, and what appears to me totally foreign from the subject, as they are not mentioned at all in the *Periplus*.

This island, however, he will not admit, received its name from Hanno, but has recourse to the word Cyrene, from which he thinks Cerne was derived by some corruption or deviation from the true orthography. But the Cyrene he selects in this place, was not that in Cyrenaica.

renaica, but another, which, by altering a passage in Stephanus Byzantinus, without any authority from MSS, he supposes to have been on the coast of Africa, though the words of the author specify its situation to have been at or near Marfeilles. But even this will not satisfy our author, who again discovers that *Κυθρην* might be abbreviated by later geographers into *Κυθρη*, and from the latter of these *Κυθρη* might be derived. This may be easily conceived, he says, if we suppose, that the more modern writers had transferred the seat of the Hesperides and the Gorgons from Cyrene in Cyrenaica to Corfica. This, he thinks, might have taken place on account of the predatory or piratical war, carried on by Perseus on the Gorgons and Sardinian people. "For," says he, "Corfica was situated in the Sardinian sea, and near to Sardinia, and was called by the Greeks *Κυθριος*, and by the Romans Corfica." It is difficult to comprehend the force of these scattered arguments; but it may be observed, that Palæphatus mentions that Perseus cruised between Cyrene and Sardinia, (a thing very improbable in those days, and well suited to the title of Palæphatus's works), but does not mention Corfica, which lies directly north of Sardinia. But if Mr D. gave any credit to the account of Palæphatus,

phatus, he must allow, that Perseus cruised beyond the bounds of the Ocean that were then discovered, which he himself had fixed at the nearer point of the greater Syrtis, and several degrees to the east of Sardinia.

In order to prove, that the Cerne on the Atlantic took its name and description from Cyrene in the Mediteranean, he quotes the description of the former place from Dionysius Periegetes :

—εν δὲ μυχοῖσι

Βοσκοῦτ' ἡπειροῖο πανόσατοι Αἰθιοπῆες

Αὐτῶ ἐπ' Ὠκεανῷ πυμάτης παρὰ τεμπεα Κερνῆς.

A common reader would find it difficult to discover, what Mr D.'s critical ingenuity has developed from these lines. Mr D. had before observed from Strabo, that at Berenice in Cyrenaica, the original seat, as he thinks, of the Hesperides, there was a lake which received the river Ladon, and which, as he thought, was a characteristic mark in the description of the place. He thinks, that Dionysius meant by the word *τεμπεα*, to ascribe the same characteristic mark to the Cerne, on the Atlantic. The river Peneus in Thessaly, flows through the vale of Tempe, and forms, as Strabo tells us, two lakes : and from this circumstance. Mr D. concludes, that the
bare

bare use of a word in a metaphorical sense, infers the presence of a lake wherever it is employed. This is indeed suggested by Eustathius, but it certainly strains the analogy very far. The word *Tempe* was used, by the ancient writers, metaphorically, to signify a pleasant valley, furnished with the advantages of wood and water ; but it would be absurd to suppose, that whenever the word is used, it necessarily inferred the presence of any particular object. If that mode of reasoning were true, there ought to have been two lakes, both at Cyrene and at Cerne, to entitle them to be compared with Tempe, which is not agreeable to the account of the two places. But it must be obvious, that such a minuteness in the resemblance is not necessary, nor is it implied in this metaphorical expression. Virgil, by particularly mentioning lakes, in a passage in the Georgics, where this metaphor is employed, seems not to have thought that they were included in the term * ; and, if the word paradise should be used, as it often is in modern expression, to signify a beautiful rural spot, it would not be inferred, that any similarity was meant

G

in

* ——— at latis otia fundis

Speluncæ vivique lacus ; at frigida Tempe

Mugitusque boum, mollesque sub arbore somni

Non absunt.——

Georg. ii. v. 468.

in the particular objects, to those contained in the description of Paradise in the book of Genesis^{*}.

The next objection of Mr Dodwell in which I can discern any force, is drawn from Strabo and Pliny, the former of whom mentions, that Artemidorus censured Eratosthenes, for calling a city in the extremity of Mauritania, *Λιζος*, instead of *Λιγγος*; and for asserting, that many Phœnician cities were built on that coast, of which cities no traces now remain. But it appears to me, on reading the passage, that Strabo himself thought these objections of Artemidorus frivolous, as, in the next sentence, he tells us, that Artemidorus himself had given a much more absurd account of the same places†. The passage
cited

* The late ingenious Dr Hawkesworth wrote a complimentary poem, in the epigrammatic style, to the late Lord Cobham, which concludes with these two lines :

For he has prov'd beyond dispute,
That Paradise is now.

If this poem should remain when that magnificent seat should be no more, some antiquarian might attempt to draw his plan from the description of Paradise in Genesis, ascribing to it a river or stream divided into four branches, and perhaps other appurtenances of Paradise, upon as good grounds as a lake is ascribed to Cerne from the words of Dionysius.

† *Αυτοὶ δὲ τῆσαν πολλὰς πόλεις λέγοντες καὶ τὰς αὐτὰς τοῦτοι.*
Strab. p. 629.

cited from Pliny is as follows : “ Fuere et Han-
 “ nonis Carthaginienſium ducis commentarii,
 “ Punicis rebus florentiſſimis explorare ambitum
 “ Africæ juſſi ; quem ſecuti plerique e Græcis no-
 “ ſtrisque ad alia quædam fabuloſa, et urbes mul-
 “ tas ab eo conditas ibi prodidère, quarum nec
 “ memoria ulla, nec veſtigium extat.” With re-
 gard to this account, it amounts to no more than
 this, that thoſe who had either travelled over the
 ſame countries with Hanno, or were poſterior to
 him in point of time, had added ſome marvel-
 lous circumſtances, and accounts of cities, of
 which there are now no traces. But the credit
 of the author of the Periplus is not impeached
 by the extravagant narratives of ſucceeding wri-
 ters ; and it is probable, whatever falſhoods
 they might invent, were grounded on the facts
 which he relates in order to give them credit,
 as being a continuation of a hiſtory of undoubted
 authority. But ſuppoſing, what however theſe
 writers by no means ſay, that no traces of the
 cities mentioned by Hanno, were to be found
 in the times of either Artemidorus or Pliny *,
 neither would this circumſtance affect the credit
 of the Periplus. “ It would indeed have been
 “ a

* It muſt have been, at the loweſt computation, 200
 years from the time of Hanno to that of Artemidorus, and
 near 400 years to that of Pliny.

“ a wonder,” as Montesquieu has remarked, “ if
 “ any such vestiges had remained. Was it a Co-
 “ rinth or an Athens that Hanno built on those
 “ coasts? He left Carthaginian families in those
 “ places most commodious for trade, and secured
 “ them, as well as his hurry would permit,
 “ against savages and wild beasts. The calami-
 “ ties of the Carthaginians put an end to the na-
 “ vigation of Africa : their families must neces-
 “ sarily then either perish or become savages.
 “ Besides, were the ruins of these cities even still
 “ in being, who would venture into the woods and
 “ marshes to make the discovery? We find,
 “ however, in Scylax and Polybius, that the Car-
 “ thaginians had considerable settlements on
 “ these coasts. These are the vestiges of the ci-
 “ ties of Hanno: there are no other, for the same
 “ reason that there are no other of Carthage
 “ itself*.”

Mr D. next attempts to shew, that it was
 suspected to be a forgery in early ages. For
 this purpose, he quotes Athenæus, where his
 company of philosophers are debating respect-
 ing the orange fruit, and its history ; and
 one of them, (Æmilianus), saying, that the
 orange was called among the people of Libya
 the Hesperidean fruit, in proof of which he
 cites the authority of Juba the historian, was
 answered

Spirit of Laws, B. xxi. c. 11.

answered by another, (Democritus), that if he had recourse to the tales of Juba, or the impostures of Hanno, he should say no more. It is proper to remark on this passage, that Athenæus, whom Mr D. calls “certissimus auctor,” gives no opinion whatever upon the passage. The former sentiments are attributed to one of the company, who seems of a captious disposition, and involves in the same censure, together with Hanno, Juba the historian, whom the former speaker, Æmilianus, had just distinguished by the title *πολυμαθης*, and whom Pliny celebrates for his knowledge of that part of the country of which we are now speaking *. This argument proves too much ; and instead of injuring the credit of Hanno, shews his censurer was entitled to no regard.

With respect to the imperfect credit of the Libyan or Phœnician books, we must consider, that much of their bad reputation proceeds from their adversaries the Romans : and that it was victory alone which decided, whether we should call it the Greek or the Roman faith. Polybius, perhaps the most candid and impartial historian of any, reprehends the Roman and the Carthaginian

* “Juba Ptolemæi pater, qui prius utrique Mauritanix
“imperavit, studiorum claritate memorabilior etiam, quam
“regno, similia prodidit de Atlante.” Lib. v. cap. 2.

thaginian writers equally for prejudice and misrepresentation ; and with respect to the Greeks, their character for truth appears, from what Pliny says in the passage quoted by Mr D., to be no better, than that of the Carthaginians. The pride of the Greeks was such, that they regarded every thing as fable or imposture, which they could not comprehend or account for. Herodotus pronounces the narrative of the circumnavigation of Africa by the Phœnicians to be incredible, from the circumstance which proves its authenticity, that as they sailed southward, the sun, which had before been on their left, appeared on their right hand. Sataſpes was put to death at the court of Persia, for relating that his course was obstructed in a voyage round the same country, and that his ships could with difficulty advance : a circumstance confirmed by modern navigators.

The epithet (*fabulosissimum*). given by Pliny to mount Atlas, if by this is not meant the scene of poetic fable or mythological narrative, as Horace speaks of the Hydaspes, but a place concerning which many extravagant falsehoods have been related, appears to me grossly misapplied. Mr D. refers the use of this epithet by Pliny to two circumstances only in the supposed fabulous account ; but that author has mentioned several others : and indeed it does not appear,

pear, that any one which he has mentioned, is not confirmed either by ancient or modern accounts, or by both. Hence I am inclined to think, that Pliny employed the word in the same sense in which it is used by Horace ; and Hoffmann, in his Lexicon, understands this passage of Pliny in the same way *. Indeed, none of the circumstances in the description are incredible or bordering on fiction, but all natural and probable. Are we to brand a narrative with the opprobrious appellation of fabulous, because it tells us, that in a woody country, situated on the coast of Africa, between or near the tropic of Cancer, the people retired to shelter in the day-time to avoid the heat, and lighted fires in the night for their domestic purposes, and perhaps to keep the wild beasts at a distance ? Does not every modern traveller give nearly the same account ? And certainly such testimony is preferable, I do not say, to that of Pliny, because I do not think his words are properly interpreted by Mr D., but to the Comædus Athenæi, (of whose character I have before spoken), who bestowed on the Periplus of Hanno the term *πλαναίς*. Nor does the testimony of Aristides, adduced by Mr D., derogate from the authority of Hanno's voyage, but rather confirms it. It proves the account

* Stephens understands by the word *fabulosus*, merely the renowned or celebrated. *Thef. in voc.*

thaginian writers equally for prejudice and misrepresentation ; and with respect to the Greeks, their character for truth appears, from what Pliny says in the passage quoted by Mr D., to be no better, than that of the Carthaginians. The pride of the Greeks was such, that they regarded every thing as fable or imposture, which they could not comprehend or account for. Herodotus pronounces the narrative of the circumnavigation of Africa by the Phœnicians to be incredible, from the circumstance which proves its authenticity, that as they sailed southward, the sun, which had before been on their left, appeared on their right hand. Sataſpes was put to death at the court of Persia, for relating that his course was obstructed in a voyage round the same country, and that his ships could with difficulty advance : a circumstance confirmed by modern navigators.

The epithet (*fabulosissimum*), given by Pliny to mount Atlas, if by this is not meant the scene of poetic fable or mythological narrative, as Horace speaks of the Hydaſpes, but a place concerning which many extravagant falsehoods have been related, appears to me grossly misapplied. Mr D. refers the use of this epithet by Pliny to two circumstances only in the supposed fabulous account ; but that author has mentioned several others : and indeed it does not appear,

pear, that any one which he has mentioned, is not confirmed either by ancient or modern accounts, or by both. Hence I am inclined to think, that Pliny employed the word in the same sense in which it is used by Horace ; and Hoffmann, in his Lexicon, understands this passage of Pliny in the same way *. Indeed, none of the circumstances in the description are incredible or bordering on fiction, but all natural and probable. Are we to brand a narrative with the opprobrious appellation of fabulous, because it tells us, that in a woody country, situated on the coast of Africa, between or near the tropic of Cancer, the people retired to shelter in the day-time to avoid the heat, and lighted fires in the night for their domestic purposes, and perhaps to keep the wild beasts at a distance ? Does not every modern traveller give nearly the same account ? And certainly such testimony is preferable, I do not say, to that of Pliny, because I do not think his words are properly interpreted by Mr D., but to the Comœdus Athenæi, (of whose character I have before spoken), who bestowed on the Periplus of Hanno the term *πλαναίς*. Nor does the testimony of Aristides, adduced by Mr D., derogate from the authority of Hanno's voyage, but rather confirms it. It proves the account

* Stephens understands by the word *fabulosus*, merely the renowned or celebrated. *Thef. in vocc.*

count we now have, to have been extant in his time ; and that it had been hung up in a temple, as literary performances are even to this day in that country *.

Lucian is afterwards introduced, and indeed in a very circuitous manner, to depreciate the credit of Hanno's voyage, although he never mentions his name, nor alludes to his narrative. But he has made the hero of his fictitious story set out on his voyage from the pillars of Hercules, where the Periplus of Hanno commences. That Libya was one of the scenes of fable, is true ; as appears from what is said of Hercules, Antæus, and Atlas. But were not Sicily, Italy, Greece, Crete, Cyprus, and the islands of the Archipelago, as much the scenes of fiction as Libya ? and yet no one questioned, for that reason, the descriptions given of their situation, natural history, manners of their inhabitants, &c. Is what Strabo, Mela, and Pliny say concerning Colchis, less authentic, because Euripides has placed there the scene of one of his tragedies ; and Apollonius and Valerius Flaccus have made it the subject of their poems ? Achilles Tatius placed the scenes of his fictitious narrative at Tyre and Sidon ; but this circumstance, by no means, invalidates the histories

* See Sir W. Jones's Translation of Arabic Poems, hung up in the temple, or mosque, at Mecca.

histories of these places, more than the Arabian tales prove, that Ormus, Bagdat, and Bassora, have no existence, but in the reports of lying travellers. It was necessary in Lucian, in order to give an air of probability and a kind of colour to his fiction, to place the scene of his fable in a country little known, or otherwise much of its humour would have been lost. Had the author of the inimitable Voyage to Lilliput, made his Pygmæan heroes the inhabitants of a coast that had been formerly visited and examined, it would have cast a shade of absurdity and contradiction over the whole, which is well avoided by placing them in so undescribed and remote a situation ; and such an appearance of probability is thus communicated to the narrative as constitutes the basis of its effect, both as a satire and as a fund of entertainment.

Mr D. next tells us, that Pomponius Mela suspected the truth of Hanno's relation, because he has said, that he brought home the skins of two hairy women named Gorillæ ; and, for that reason, credit was given to what he related concerning them, intimating thereby, as Mr D. thinks, that, had he not done so, no credit would have been given to his relation. It is very probable Hanno himself was of the same opinion, and therefore was concerned to bring home such undeniable proofs of what he alleged

H

of

of so remarkable a circumstance ; and it was certainly meritorious in him to confirm his account by such demonstrative evidence. But this is a most extraordinary method of weakening the authority of a work, by citing the proofs of its authenticity. Could there be a stronger presumptive argument, that what Hanno had related in general was true, than his bringing an incontestable proof of the circumstance which seemed most incredible ? Besides, the doubts of Pomponius Mela did not extend further than to the circumstances respecting the hairy women, and were removed by the testimony of their skins being brought home. Mr D. here quotes the very fact, to weaken the authenticity of the voyage of Hanno, which induced Mela to believe it. Are the accounts given of Otahite less worthy of credit, because specimens of the arms, dresses, furniture, &c. of that country, and even one of the natives, were brought to England ? Would Captain Cooke and his companions have obtained general credit, if they had done nothing of the kind ? On this system of reasoning, a demonstrative proof would serve no other purpose than to destroy the credit of the person who produced it.

Isaac Vossius, whose arguments respecting the genuineness of Hanno's Periplus are the subject of Mr D.'s dissertation, thought that he had discovered

covered some vestiges of the voyage, in the name of a river which was called Hanno, and was situated in the neighbourhood of the country of the Gorgons. As this opposes Mr D.'s conjectures, he questions its truth. His first reason is, that a river of this name is not to be found in the *Periplus* itself. But might not the river have received another appellation from the inhabitants of the country, at the time Hanno was there? and might not the colony which he left call it by the name of their founder after his departure? His stay at each of the colonies which he founded, could be but short; and, during that time, they had little leisure for devising honorary titles. Besides, to a man of great character, it would be more honourable, that such a mark of respect should be shewn by others, and in his absence, than that he should call his settlements by his own name; not to mention the suspicion, which such vanity might raise in so jealous a government as that of Carthage. Montesquieu properly observes, "That Hanno's voyage was written by the very man who performed it. His recital is not mingled with ostentation. Great commanders write their actions with simplicity, because they receive more honour from facts than from words."

Mr D. adds, that it would be extraordinary that any commander posterior to Hanno, should
choose

chuse to call it by Hanno's name rather than by his own. But there is no necessity for supposing, that the name was given to the river by any commander. It was more probably given by the people at large, who would certainly prefer the name of their founder. Names of places take their origin more frequently from the caprice of the people, than from those who are at the head of the state. America, it is well known, took its name, neither from the monarch under whose auspices the expedition in which it was discovered was fitted out, nor from the first discoverer himself, but from the name of a subsequent and much less considerable adventurer. This fact, although incontestably true, is much less probable, than that a river should take its name, from the acknowledged founder of a colony in which the river was situated.

Lastly, Mr D. thinks it extraordinary, that people, who set out to make discoveries, should not only give names to cities and colonies which they founded, and to promontories, but also give new appellations to rivers, which they cannot occupy through their whole extent. He thinks it rather probable that the strangers would retain the ancient name given it by the inhabitants. I cannot see any force in this argument. Those who discover any country give names to rivers, as well as to promontories, or the cities
which

which they found. The rivers of both North and South America, undoubtedly had names before the Europeans settled there ; yet neither the English, Dutch, French, Spanish, or Portuguese, scrupled to affix their own names to the rivers in that country, which they still retain. The river St Laurence in North America, and that of the Amazons, and the river of Plata in South America, all retain their European names.

Mr D. leaves this field of probabilities, and observes, that the river mentioned by Palæphatus will not favour the argument of Vossius, as he does not call it *Ανωνα*, but *Αυνωνα*. An allowable alteration of a single letter would adapt the reading to my purpose, and indeed the proposed alteration is mentioned in the note ; but the passage in which the name occurs, bears so strong an allusion to what is mentioned by Hanno, that no unprejudiced person can doubt that the author had before him the same country, and the same places and river. “ The Cyreneans,” says he, “ who are Æthiopians by descent, inhabit the island of Cyrene, situated beyond the pillars of Hercules, and cultivate that part of Libya, adjacent to the river Anno, which is opposite Carthage *.” The situation of Cerne will

* Οἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι κατὰ γένος μὲν εἰσὶν Ἀ.θιοπεῖς· οἰκεῖσι δὲ ἔχουσιν τὴν Κυρήνην ἐξ ὧ ἦσαν τῶν Ἑρακλείων στήλων· ἀρᾶσι δὲ Λιβύῃ περὶ τοὺς Ἀννώνα π. τ. χ. μ. κατὰ Καρχηδόνα. Opusc. Mytholog. p. 41.

will be considered in another part of this enquiry. Mr D. however remarks, that *Καρχηδόνα* does not signify Carthage, but the dominions of the Carthaginians which extended, he says, “*Punicis rebus florentissimis*,” to the pillars of Hercules, and might be near or adjacent to the place referred to in this passage. But Carthage is here used in a geographical, and not in a metaphorical sense. The words are expressive of local situation, and must be so understood, if we mean to find any sense in them. No writer that should say any city or place lay opposite to, or in another direction to, Rome, could be understood to mean any part of the Roman dominions. Such a latitude of interpretation would destroy all accuracy of description, and all dependance upon the author. The reason why Mr D. wished to interpret it in any but the obvious way, appears too plain even to be distantly mentioned.

In order to prove more clearly, that the river mentioned in Pelephatus had no reference to Hanno, Mr D. says, that there is a river mentioned by Scylax, not very distant from the situation of the Arne, which is called Adonis; a name, he says, of Syrian origin, but which bears no relation to the name of Hanno. But no river of the name of Adonis is to be found in Scylax. The name of the river alluded to is *Ανδρος*; and

and it is supposed to be *Αδωνις* from conjecture only, and not from the authority of MSS. In the second place, the passage in which this river is mentioned, is evidently corrupted. There is no absurdity in supposing, that there might be a river of the name of Anidus in Libya*. Mr D. observes, that a river in that neighbourhood, of the name ΟΥΑΛΩΝΑ, is mentioned by Ptolemy, which, he says might easily be corrupted into ΑΥΝΩΝΑ. But it requires much less change to alter this word into ΑΝΝΩΝΑ, than ΟΥΑΛΩΝΑ into ΑΥΝΩΝΑ. But then Mr D.'s hypothesis would be contradicted.

Mr D. proceeds to say, “ I scarcely think, “ that any of the ancients have extended the “ Carthaginian empire, even in its most flourish- “ ing state, to either the Greater or the Lesser “ Atlas, or who have placed a river, bearing the “ name of a Carthaginian commander, at Cer- “ ne.”

It is difficult to determine the limits of these assertions. If Mr D. means, that the Carthaginians did not possess the whole of the coast between the farther Atlas and Carthage, it is probably true ; but if he means, that the Carthaginians, at no period of time, had settlements
as

* Solinus mentions a river of the name of *Αιζτις*, nearly in the same situation with the *Ανιδος* of Scylax. Cap. 27.

as far south, or further on the western coast, than the Greater Atlas, he must remove Pliny, Solinus, Mela, Polybius, and others, from the list of ancient writers, before this can be granted. Cerne is placed by Ptolemy to the south of the Greater Atlas, in lat. 25° , $40'$, long. 5° , which is nearly a degree to the south of the Greater Atlas. That there is no account of the name of the river opposite Cerne in other writers, is by no means extraordinary. Is it extraordinary, that a name given by settlers, who probably remained there but a short time, should be soon sunk into the original name of the river, which was given by the natives, especially on a coast of which we have so few geographical accounts *. As to what he says of *Ouvæ* and *Ayvæ*, two rivers on that coast, which names he thinks might easily be perverted or corrupted into *Auvavæ*, it is just as easy to suppose, that one of them might be corrupted from one expressive of the name of Hanno the discoverer ;
and

* Analogous hereto, we may observe, that there was an ancient city in the desert of Syria, called Tadmor. When the Greeks became masters of this country, they gave it the name of Palmyra, which it retained for many ages. But when the Saracens, who were a barbarous people like the Mauritians, retook it, they restored the old name of Tadmor, which it still retains.

and whether it be so or not, is of no consequence to the argument.

Mr D. proceeds to comment on that expression in the Periplus respecting the situation of Cerne ; *κατ' εὐθὺ καὶ θάλασσαν Καρχηδόνας*. He says, that Cornelius Nepos mistook this expression, and supposed, that Cerne lay near Carthage. But Cornelius Nepos says nothing of its proximity to Carthage, but only speaks of its direction or bearing respecting Carthage. Nor did Pliny so understand his words. He rather shews the agreement between him and Polybius. Thus he says, that Polybius had placed Cerne in the farthest part of Mauritania, opposite to mount Atlas, at the distance of eight stadia from the shore ; and Cornelius Nepos says, that it lies opposite Carthage, and at the distance of a mile from the shore *. Would not Pliny have remarked, that Polybius and Cornelius Nepos were speaking of different countries, had he understood the latter in the sense imposed by Mr Dodwell ? Pliny would not have introduced Cornelius Nepos's account of an island near Carthage, in an enumeration of the *Insulæ Æthiopici maris*. The opposition of one place to another does not imply proximity. Milton

I

says,

* Palæphatus says, that an island, nearly resembling Cerne in name, and agreeing perfectly in situation and description, was placed *παρα Καρχηδόνα*.

says, that St Michael's mount in Cornwall is opposite to Namancos on the coast of Spain * ; but he was not ignorant of the distance between these two places, nor did he think that the distance impeached the propriety of his expression. Mr D. supposes the meaning of the phrase to have been, that Cerne and Carthage lay under the same meridian. But this is altogether a conjecture of his own. At the time the Periplus of Hanno (supposing it to be genuine) was written, the meridians of places were not thought of ; and could Mr D. have proved this to have been Hanno's meaning, it would invalidate the antiquity of the Periplus beyond all his arguments. Eratosthenes, who lived 223 years B. C. was the first who laid down parallels of latitude ; and meridians of longitude, though they were nearly contemporary, were nevertheless a subsequent invention. But Mr Dodwell places the age of Hanno *between* the 92d and the 129th Olympiad †. Now, if we assume the beginning of the last date, that period will be prior to the time of Eratosthenes almost by 40 years. The words of Hanno appear to convey as scientific a description of the situation of the island, as the state of his knowledge could express. He says, they

* Where the great vision of the guarded Mount
Looks tow'ards Namancos, and Bagona's hold.

† Sect. 18. *ad fin.*

~~they~~ conjectured that Cerne was opposite to Carthage, *because* the voyage from Carthage to the pillars was equal to the voyage from the pillars to Cerne. If, then, we suppose the pillars of Hercules to be the vertex of an isosceles triangle, and the distance from Carthage and the distance from Cerne to be its equal sides, Cerne, the point terminating one extremity, may be said to be opposite and in a straight line with Carthage, the point terminating the extremity of the other side. This idea, though rude, is not perhaps unnatural.

Mr D. still remains true to himself in this instance. He had said, that there was no island of the name of Cerne on the western coast of Africa * ; and now he says, Pliny speaks of the Cerne of Hanno †. It will be necessary to consider this point more accurately. Mr D. asserts, “ That there never was any island of the name
“ of Cerne in that situation, where Hanno could
“ have established a colony. This was the opi-
“ nion of a very great geographer, Strabo, who
“ censures Eratosthenes on this account. For,
“ says Strabo, he believed many fictitious stories
“ respecting

* Atqui nulla fuit unquàm ibi insula Cerne qua Hanno coloniam instituerit. Pag. 11.

† Hoc discimus e Plinio, quo loco agit de situ Cernes Hannoniæ.

“ respecting the country beyond the pillars of
 “ Hercules, and mentioned the island Cerne,
 “ and other places, which are no where pointed
 “ out at present *.” If I was satisfied with opposing quotation to quotation, I might produce passages from Ptolemy † and Diodorus ‡, to prove that there was an island of this name on the western coast of Africa. I might also ask, why those writers are to be deemed inaccurate, or mistaken in their descriptions, who say there is an island of that name on the eastern coast? Where likewise authorities are equal on each part, and where nothing but authority is left to guide our decisions, I should have a right to suppose, that there might have been two islands of that name, one on the eastern, and the other on the western coast of Africa. But it is not necessary to reconcile opinions, or oppose testimony to testimony. We can directly appeal to the narrative of Polybius the historian, some fragments of which are preserved in Pliny. “ When Scipio Æmilianus was engaged in Africa, Polybius, the composer of the Annals, having procured some vessels from him, sailed round the coast with a view to explore that world; and
 “ has

* P. II.

† P. III.

‡ Vol. i. p. 222. ed. Wessel.

“ has related *,”— and we are further informed,
 “ That Polybius has related, that Cerne, situated
 “ at the extremity of Mauritania, opposite mount
 “ Atlas, lies at the distance of eight stadia from
 “ the land †.” It will now be asked, why the
 island could not be pointed out in the time of
 Strabo?

Hanno merely says, that we called the island
 Cerne. The knowledge of the name would ex-
 tend to those persons who had an opportunity
 of consulting his account, or of visiting the
 island whilst the colony existed. Those who
 consulted the account would find the island de-
 scribed in general terms only, and the situation
 determined by the gross calculation of each
 day's sail, and not in a manner that supposes it
 to have been computed by degrees of latitude.
 Those who visited the same country after the
 extinction of the colony, would not probably
 discover the same island amongst so many others
 on that coast. It is mentioned in Scylax, be-
 cause the colony was then flourishing, and a
 considerable commerce was then carried on.
 But the enquiry in the time of Strabo, proves a
 traditionary existence of the island. The colony
 was flourishing in the time of Scylax, because
 the manner in which the Phœnicians conducted
 their trade, is minutely described. “ The mer-
 “ chants,” says Scylax, “ are Phœnicians. When
 “ they

* Pliny, lib. v. c. 1.

† Ibid. lib. vi. c. 31.

“ they arrive at Cerne, they moor their trading
 “ ships there, and erect tents for themselves on
 “ the island. But they take out the freight,
 “ and transport it in small vessels to the Conti-
 “ nent.” This appears to be the same island
 which is mentioned by Polybius, from the cir-
 cumstance of its distance from the land. This
 distance, as implied in the account of Scylax,
 could not be very great, as the freight was con-
 veyed in small vessels, and probably the shallow-
 ness of the water prevented the nearer ap-
 proach of the trading ships.

Of the persons who composed the colony at
 Cerne, Mr D. observes : “ But Scylax supposes
 “ those colonies to have consisted of Phœnicians,
 “ and not of Libyphœnicians, as the impostor,
 “ under the name of Hanno, relates. Nay, the
 “ Phœnicians in Scylax inhabited Phœnicia it-
 “ self.” Scylax mentions no colonies whatever
 at Cerne; nor does he tell us whether the Phœ-
 nicians were inhabitants of Phœnicia itself, or
 Carthaginians. He distinctly mentions the mer-
 chants, the purchasers, and the articles of com-
 merce. “ They are Æthiopians with whom
 “ they contract ;” and again, “ the Phœnician
 “ merchants bring them ointment *,” &c.

Before I leave this part of the disquisition, I
 shall consider some of the articles of commerce
 which

* Scyl. Perip. p. 54.

which the Phœnician traders conveyed to Cerne. The first was a kind of unguent. This probably was an Egyptian production called *kiki*, which was employed by those who inhabited the marshy parts of Egypt, to repel the approach of flies, as we are informed by Herodotus. “ The Egyptians who live near the marsh-
 “ es, use an unguent, which is procured from
 “ the fruit of the fillicyprium, and is called by
 “ them *kiki*. It is of a greasy nature, and no
 “ less fit for a *lamp* than oil. It sends forth
 “ a very strong smell. This was discovered to
 “ be a remedy against the abundance of flies *.” It is a well known fact, that these insects will not settle on any place which has been smeared with any corrupt substance, as train oil. This will account for what has been always considered as a very singular preference, which the Hottentots give to mixtures, that have a rancid odour. Dampier observes of their anointing themselves, “ That they are glad of the worst
 “ of kitchen-stuff for this purpose, and use it as
 “ often as they can get it †.” The island Cerne probably derived its name from the abundance of flies. Bochart explains it by the Arabic *acher* or *achir*, which corresponds, he says. with the Hebrew *acharon* ‡. Now Accaron was the fly-god,

* Herodot. lib. ii. c. 94.

† Vol. i. p. 537.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 642.

god *, and hence Cerne might be the island of flies. Adanson likewise mentions a place on the banks of the Niger, that was called the Musketoë trading place †, which proves the existence of this physical peculiarity. The next commodity appears to have been brought from Egypt. The passage in which it occurs, is at present inaccurate, and I shall venture to propose a conjecture. Οἱ δὲ φοινικες εμποροὶ εἰσαγασιν αὐτοῖς μυρον λίθον Αἰγυπτίαν ‡. On which words Gronovius observes: “ Cautè et curiosè Vossius unguenti Ægyptii lapidem: Quid unde exculpsit. Legerem potius μυρον, λινον, Αἰγυπτια, vel simpliciter μυρον, λίθον Αἰγυπτίαν, unguentum, et marmor Ægyptium.” It is extraordinary, that Gronovius should have approached so near the probable reading, and then should have hastily receded. Ægyptian marble seems to be a very useless commodity to a savage and rude people. I would propose to read, μυρον ΑΙΝΟΝ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΟΝ; and this reading is confirmed by the following passage of Herodotus: ΑΙΝΟΝ δὲ τομεν Κολχικόν ὑπο Ἑλληνῶν Σαρδονικόν πεπληται.

* Bryant's Plagues of Egypt, p. 67. See this admirable work.

† Adanson, p. 125, 126.

‡ Scylax, p. 54. ed. Hudf.

ται· το μεντοι απ' Αιγυπτου απικνευμενον· καλεεται
 ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΟΝ *. Linen-cloth has been sent as
 an article of commerce to that country in modern
 times. In Purchas's Pilgrim, we are informed :
 " First, we bring them great store of
 " flint linen-cloth, whereof there is very much
 " spent in those countries; for they apparel them-
 " selves therewith, and it is the chiefest thing
 " they use for that purpose †." But to return
 to Mr Dodwell's dissertation.

It is almost impossible to collect the scattered
 arguments which appear in the subsequent
 sentences. Mr D. assumes this position, that
 the Periplus was meant as a circumnavigation
 of the whole Continent of Africa. The Senate
 of Carthage decreed, that Hanno should sail be-
 yond the pillars of Hercules, and found Liby-
 phœnician cities; and the narrative informs us,
 he was obliged to return before we have any rea-
 son to think that he had passed the line. He
 assumes again, that Hanno returned to the same
 meridian on the other side of Africa, which he
 had left at Carthage; that the river Anno, men-
 tioned in Palæphatus, was in the neighbourhood
 of Carthage, and consequently that it could not
 be near the island Cerne of Hanno, which was
 near Carthage, because the course of the rivers

K

in

* Lib. ii. p. 151.

† Vol. ii. p. 938.

in the Carthaginian dominions is in a direction from south to north, and not from north to south. The interpretation of the words *κατ' εὐθὺ καὶ θάλασσαν*, in the sense of *lying near*, instead of lying *opposite* to Carthage, is the foundation of this argument.

Mr D. adds, that the voyage of Hanno is evidently false, because it does not correspond with the figure of the Continent of Africa. Mr D. has not attempted to shew in what respects it differs from modern observations; and, had it coincided with them as strictly as Mr D. seems to require, it would not have a claim even to that antiquity which is assigned to it by Mr D. himself. Hanno does not say, that Africa was of one figure or another, as Dionysius Periegetes has compared the shape of the earth to a sling; and if we trace the voyage by the promontories, we shall find all the accuracy that could result from the imperfect state of navigation at that period.

I now pass on to the more important question, respecting the age of Hanno. As I adopt the opinion of M. Bougainville, I shall avail myself of some of his arguments*.

Carthage existed as a political state 737 years. Cato the elder expressly asserts this in one of his speeches to the Roman Senate, which Solinus

* Memoires de l'Acad. des Inscip. vol. xxviii. p. 261.

nus has preserved. That we may discover the points between which the voyage of Hanno may be placed in the course of these 737 years, I divide the whole period into three parts: The first comprehends the time from the foundation of Carthage to the invasion of Sicily by the Carthaginians, and of Greece by Xerxes, in the year 480 B. C. which contains a space of 403 years: The second part, commencing from this point, terminates in the year 264, when the rivalship of Rome and Carthage manifested itself by a celebrated rupture. The third part, which comprehends the three Punic wars, consists of 118 years only. It extends from the year 264 to 146, when Carthage was destroyed. The learned have almost generally referred the voyage of Hanno to the second part; but in my opinion, it belongs to the first, when the words of Pliny are explained.

Let us now attempt to shew, that the words of Pliny, “*florentissimis Pœnorum rebus,*” in whatever sense we interpret them, agree better with the times which precede the invasion of Sicily, than *with those which followed*. Do we wish to apply the most extensive meaning to the words? The affairs of the Carthaginians were never in a more flourishing state than when Xerxes invaded Europe. Let us judge of them by the opinion which was entertained of them

them at that time ; an opinion so favourable, that the Great King, notwithstanding his pride, thought it was his interest to make overtures to these plain republicans, and invite them by his ambassadors to unite in a league. Let us judge of them by the prodigious armament which they prepared on this occasion, when they displayed their forces for the first time. Do we wish to consider the text of Pliny in a sense less extended and more natural ? We shall not be obliged to have recourse to reasoning or facts, to be convinced that a power, which had attained its highest elevation at the time of Xerxes, must have been very flourishing before his reign. As it was established on a flourishing commerce, it could increase by degrees only ; but, for this reason, it must have increased at an early time, if favourable circumstances had early concurred to augment the commerce, of which that however was the effect. Now, let us observe all these circumstances combined in favour of Carthage ; let us recall to our recollection the dreadful attack of Salmanazar and Nabuchodonosor against Tyre, before the time of Cyrus ; the disinclination for maritime commerce and navigation, which prevailed amongst the Egyptians, and the most celebrated nations of Asia ; and, at the same time, let us represent to ourselves the advantageous situation of Carthage, the
the

the activity of its inhabitants, the ignorance of the neighbouring nations, indifferent possessions of the richest productions of the ground, we shall perceive how the influence of so many causes upon the commerce of Carthage must have rendered it prosperous, and we are enabled to conceive by what means, in a short time, a colony of Tyre became independent of the mother-state, but still connected with it, prepared to collect the remains of its commerce, to appropriate to itself different branches of it, and to extend and multiply them by discoveries of its own. The testimony of all antiquity concurs in raising our ideas of the important rank which the republic of Carthage held amongst the principal powers after the time of Cyrus. We cannot determine the precise date of the conquests which they made in Spain, nor ascertain the time when they subdued Sardinia and the Balearic Islands, nor when they laid the foundation of their power in Sicily. It is certain, however, that these events are very ancient, and that the date of the most modern must be placed at the end of the seventh century before the Christian æra, and that the Carthaginians remained more than 600 years sovereigns of the sea. The first treaty of the Carthaginians with the Romans, concluded in the year 509, the same year when the kings were expelled from Rome,

Rome, mentions Africa and Sardinia as belonging at that time to Carthage *. Their possessions in Sicily are clearly marked out, and the tone of authority which they assumed, proves the superiority which they possessed in the Mediterranean. They were not less known in the East. Cambyfes, the fucceffor of Cyrus, was jealous of their power, and propofed to attack them after he had conquered the Egyptians; but he was prevented from executing his project, becaufe the Phœnicians, who compofed his maritime force, perſevered in refuſing to be employed againſt a nation which was deſcended from the ſame anceſtors.

The hiſtory of this ſtate during the firſt period is imperfectly known. The Greek and Latin writers have preſerved only diſperſed and unconnected facts. But there is no reaſon to ſuppoſe, that the Carthaginians were not in a moſt flouriſhing ſituation. I only conclude, that, too prudent at that time to interfere in the affairs of Europe, and to aſpire to brilliant but ruinous conqueſts, they were engaged in more uſeful enterpriſes, and were extending their celebrity in Aſia and Africa, whiſt they were unknown in Greece. The theatre of their maritime achievements was too far removed from Greece to attract the notice of the latter,

and

* Polyb. lib. i. p. 176.

and the silence which they have observed on this portion of history does not prove that the subject was barren, but that it was not subject to the investigation of the Greek historians.

I think I have said more than sufficient to shew, that the voyage of Hanno may belong to this first period, as I have proved that their affairs were in a very flourishing state. It only remains to assign a place to this fact in this long series of years.

As all the Punic names have a peculiar signification, so likewise has that of Hanno. It may be translated *gracious* or *kind*. Of all the Carthaginians who have borne this name, and of whom history makes any mention, I can discover only two who lived in the course of the first period. The latest is the father of Amilcar, who was overcome by Gelo in the plains of Himera, in the year 480. If this Hanno was the author of the Periplus, we cannot ascend higher than the year 510. I prefer another Hanno to the father of Amilcar, who was more ancient by some generations; I mean the Hanno who flourished about the time of Solon, and to whom Anacharsis, a contemporary of the Athenian legislator, addressed a letter, which Cicero has preserved. The time of Solon is determined in the year 594. The arrival of Anacharsis at Athens answers to the year 589.
his

His travels were extensive; and he did not return to his own country till he had visited all Greece and Asia Minor. If this letter is genuine, the synchronism between the times of Hanno and Anacharsis will not allow us to place the voyage and the narrative below the year 570 before the Christian æra. Carthage had then existed 333 years, and had time to increase and to become extremely flourishing. That Hanno, who, according to Pliny*, was the first person who tamed the lion, and, according to Ælian†, converted this formidable animal into a beast of burden, and accustomed it to carry a considerable weight, is apparently the author of the Periplus. I recognise him, as Bochart has done‡, in that Hanno, who, according to Ælian§, wishing, either from vanity or policy, to take advantage of the superstitious ignorance of his countrymen, had privately instructed the birds to say in the Punic language, *that he was a god*. These birds were certainly paroquets. If these anecdotes have any foundation, they agree too well with the discoveries made on the coast of Africa, and in

the old monument above described.

* Pliny. Nat. lib. v. c. 39.

† Bochart. Chanaan. lib. i. c. 37.

‡ Bochart. Chanaan. lib. i. c. 37.

§ Ælian. Hist. var. lib. xiv. c. 32.

the interior part of the country, not to belong to our author.

In placing this voyage towards the year 570 before the Christian æra, I might employ the authority of many historical facts with which it might be reconciled, and from which there would result a multitude of circumstances in favour of Carthage, which were necessary to the formation and success of such an enterprise.

I find the city of Tyre considerably weakened at that time, and in an exhausted state, which could not but be an advantage to the commerce of the Carthaginians. This city, after having long resisted the power of the King of Babylon, fell at length under the conqueror, and with difficulty rose again. Carthage, which was become an asylum for a part of the Tyrians, was enriched by the losses of the mother-state, and peopled at its expence. This sudden accession both of riches and population, enabled the Carthaginians to extend their settlements beyond the pillars, and to establish numerous colonies along the coasts of Africa. The enterprise of Hanno was attended with every favourable circumstance, and the effort which Carthage then made, however great it may be supposed to have been, did not exceed its strength.

L

Another

Another reason, which determines my opinion in favour of the year 570, is, that this epoch places the maritime expedition of the Carthaginians between two voyages round Africa, which were not expressions the first of which was prior by forty years to that of Hanno, and might have suggested the idea; the other, posterior by a century, was projected perhaps from the expectations that had been excited, and from the light which had been afforded by preceding voyages. Herodotus has mentioned these two voyages. The first is that with which Necho, King of Egypt, entrusted the Phœnicians, about the year 610. The second was undertaken under the reign of Xerxes, towards the year 475, by Sataipes. As the reign of Xerxes continued twenty-one years, I have assumed the middle of it as the epoch of the voyage undertaken by his command, the date of which is not precisely settled by any Greek historian. Darius, the predecessor of Xerxes, had reconnoitred, some years before, the seas of Asia, by the celebrated Scylax of Caryandia, the Admiral of the fleet, who employed two years and a half in examining the coasts, as far as the Arabian gulf.

I shall conclude with observing, that such enterprises, undertaken by different powers, prove a kind of emulation to have prevailed; a circumstance

cumstance which renders more than probable the epoch assigned in the same period to the voyage of Hanno. — To return to Mr D.'s disquisition.

Mr D. says, "That Scylax calls the colonists at Cerne by the name of Phœnicians, whereas they ought to have been called Libyphœnicians." The fact is, Scylax does not say any thing of any colonies, but only of the traders who came there. But why might not the Carthaginians have the general appellation of Phœnicians? The inhabitants of the maritime part of Syria were properly called Syrophœnicians, but most frequently simply Phœnicians. Silius Italicus did not require to be informed, that the Carthaginian fleet was not really Phœnician, and yet he says,

Ecce autem flatu classis Phœnissæ secundo— * *lib. vii. 429.*

and again,

*Prostratis opibus regni Phœnissæ metuntur
Agmina—*

He uses *Phœnissæ*, as Scylax did, as a general term, comprehending the states and people of Phœnician origin.

But, says Mr D., the commodities which were conveyed to Cerne "were the produce of Egypt and Attica; and who does not see, that

* *Lib. vii. 429.*

“ that they agree better with Phœnicia than
“ with Libyphœnicia ? ”

The commodities are said to have been ointment, Egyptian linen, hogs, Attic tiles, and pitchers or vases to hold water. And why should not Libyphœnician traders import these articles as well as Phœnicians ? Pliny says, the voyage was performed when the Carthaginian republic was in a very flourishing state, that is, when its commerce was most extensive ; and does Mr D. suppose, that, at such a period, the republic had no commercial intercourse with two places, one of which possessed a large fleet and great trade, and the other remarkable both for domestic industry, large manufactures, and natural productions of great value ? The Carthaginians were then the carriers of the Mediterranean, as the Dutch were, till lately, of Europe ; and is it probable, that they should not resort to those places, where the commodities in which they traded, were produced in the greatest plenty ? Carthage is as near to Attica as is the coast of Phœnicia ; and though Egypt lies nearer to Phœnicia than to Carthage, yet such a difference is inconsiderable in a naval light. Besides, Carthage lying much nearer to the mouth of the Straits than Phœnicia, it is more probable, according to Mr D.'s own mode of reasoning, that the vessels which resorted to

Cerne

Cerne were rather Libyphœnician than Phœnician. But if the Carthaginians had not an intimate connection with Athens, how did Aristotle procure his information respecting their policy and government? and Aristotle has ascribed to them the invention of the quadriga, as Pliny informs us *. But we have positive authority, that the Carthaginians traded with Egypt, and that they brought thence linen, papyrus, &c. As a full answer to Mr D.'s probabilities, we have the testimony of Herodotus, who gives a particular account of the manner in which the Carthaginians, and not the Phœnicians, traded to this very coast. "The Carthaginians say," as this writer tells us, "that beyond the columns of Hercules, there is a region of Libya well inhabited; where, when they arrive, they unload their merchandise on the shore, and returning again to their ships, make great fires; that the inhabitants, seeing the smoke, come down to the coast, and, leaving gold in exchange for the goods, depart again to some distance from the place; that the Carthaginians at the same time view the gold; and if it seem sufficient for the goods, they take it up, and sail away; but if they are not contented, they return to their ships,

* Lib. vii. c. 56. Anc. Un. Hist. See the authorities quoted, vol. xvii. p. 325.

“ ships, and continue there ; that the Libyans,
“ upon this, come again, and lay down more
“ gold to the former, till they have satisfied the
“ merchants ; that no wrong is done on either
“ part, the Carthaginians never touching the
“ gold till they acquiesce in the price, nor the
“ inhabitants the merchandise till the gold is
“ taken away.” The truth of this account is
confirmed by many modern testimonies, but by
none so remarkably as that of Dr Shaw. “ It
“ must be mentioned to the honour of the west-
“ ern Moors, that they still continue to carry on
“ a trade with some barbarous nations bordering
“ upon the river Niger, without seeing the per-
“ sons they trade with, or without having once
“ broke through the original charter of com-
“ merce, which, from time immemorial, has
“ been settled between them. The method is
“ this : At a certain time of the year, (in the
“ winter if I am not mistaken), they make this
“ journey in a numerous caravan, carrying along
“ with them coral, and glass beads, bracelets of
“ horn, knives, scissars, and such like trinkets.
“ When they arrive at the place appointed,
“ which is on such a day of the moon, they
“ find in the evening, several different heaps
“ of gold-dust lying at a small distance from
“ each other, against which the Moors place so
“ many of their trinkets as they judge will be
“ taken

“ taken in exchange for them. If the Nigriti-
 “ ans, the next morning, approve of the bar-
 “ gain, they take up the trinkets, and leave the
 “ gold-dust, or else make some deductions from
 “ the latter. And in this manner transact their
 “ exchange, without seeing one another, or
 “ without the least instance of dishonesty or
 “ perfidiousness on either side *.” Montef-
 quieu observes, “ That the caravans of Moors,
 “ who go to Tombactu or Tombuto, a coun-
 “ try situated on the same coast, with that
 “ mentioned by Herodotus, have no need
 “ of money, as they exchange their salt for
 “ gold. The Moor puts his salt in a heap,
 “ and the negro his gold-dust in another. If
 “ there is not gold enough, the Moor takes away
 “ some of his salt, or the negro adds more gold,
 “ till both parties are agreed †.” These testi-
 monies are certainly more than sufficient to
 prove the trade of the Carthaginians to this part
 of Africa.

Mr D.’s next objection has the appearance of
 an argument, as its foundation rests upon a fact.
 He observes, that the order of some places men-
 tioned in the narrative of Scylax and of Hanno,
 is inverted. “ Scylax has placed Thymiatérias
 “ beyond the river Lixus ; whereas Hanno pla-
 ces

* Shaw’s Travels, p. 239.

† Spirit of Laws, b. xxii. c. i.

“ ces his city Thymiaterium, (many colonies
 “ being interposed), on this side the Lixus. The
 “ same is likewise to be said of the promontory
 “ Soloeis.” We will first compare the succession
 of the places in each account :

HANNO.	SCYLAX.
Thymiaterium, and the altar of Neptune.	Lixus. Thymiateria.
Soloeis.	Altar of Neptune.
Lixus.	Soloeis.
Cerne.	Xion, a river.
	Cerne.

In the next place, we will examine the state of
 the text in Scylax :

Μετα δε Ανιδιευτα εστιν αλλος ποταμος μεγας
 Λιξος, και πολεις Φοινικων Λιξος.—Μετα δε Λιξον,
 Κραβις ποταμος και λιμην, και πολεις Φοινικων Θυ-
 μιατηριας ονομα. Απο Θυμιατηριας εις Σολοεσαν
 ακραν.—Επι δε τῇ ακρωτηριῳ της ακρας επεσι
 βαρος μεγας, Ποινης, Ποσαδωνος.—Απο δε Σολο-
 ειτος ακρας ποταμος εστι ἡ ονομα Ξιων. Περι-
 τετοι του ποταμου περιοικουσιν Αιθιοπες ιεροι.
 Κατα δε ταυτα νησος εστι, ἡ ονομα Κερνη*.

It is curious to remark the number of errors
 in this short passage. *Ανιδιευτα* is called *Ανιδος*

a

* Geog. Min. vol. i. p. 52, 53. edit. Oxon.

a few lines before ; *Θυμιατηρίας* is both the nominative and genitive case ; *Σολρρσαν* and *Σολοεντος* are used indifferently ; and then follows *Ξίων*. It is remarked, that this name is not to be found in any other author. It is probable, that we ought to read *ΛΙΞΟΣ* in this place ; and it is the opinion of some eminent geographers, that there were two rivers of this name. Bochart supposes it to have been another river. “ The Arambys,” says he, “ is succeeded by “ the Lixus, a river different from the former “ one of that name, which, in the same manner, “ received its appellation from the lions in its “ neighbourhood. And Scylax relates in his “ Periplus, that the Phœnicians procured from “ the adjacent Æthiopians at Cerne, which is “ not far distant from the Lixus, amongst other “ articles of traffic, the skins of lions *.” D’Anville

M

ville

* Vol. i. p. 642. “ Post Arambyn sequitur alius a priore “ Lixus, quem itidem palam est nomen habere à *leonibus*. “ Et in insulâ Cerne, quæ à Lixo non multùm abest, inter “ cæteras merces etiam *λεοντα* *σιονταν* à vicinis Æthiopi- “ bus comparasse Phœnices Scylax in Periplo scribit.” It is probable, that there were two rivers of the same name on the same coast, particularly if they were denominated from the lions that lived near their banks. The neighbourhood of rivers is their principal haunt. In Scripture we have the lion from the swellings of Jordan ; and Sandys has most elegantly alluded to it :

To Libyan wastes, whose thirst no show’rs assuage,
And where swoln Nilus cools the lion’s rage.

ville entertained the same sentiments. After he has mentioned the Lixus or Lixæ as the scene of the combat between Hercules and Antæus, he adds, “ Et le fleuve que portoit le nom de “ Lixus, le conserve dans celui de Lucos *.” The Lixus of Hanno he determines to have been the river Salathi. “ Ce qui se presente de remarqu- “ able, au dela du promontoire que l’on connoit “ sous le nom de Bojador, est une grande em- “ bouchure de riviere, que les Portugais ont ap- “ pellée Rio do Ouro, ou riviere d’or, et qui peut “ repondre au fleuve nommée Salathi, avec une “ ville de même nom dans Ptolemée. Et si l’on “ veut rapporter a quelque objet du local actuel “ le fleuve Lixus du Periple de Hannon, c’est a “ cette riviere vu l’indication de deux jours de “ navigation ulterieure, et d’un troisieme en “ tournant a l’est pour arriver a l’isle nommée “ Cerne †.” Ptolemy mentions a city of the name of Salathi, as situated near the river Salathi. Scylax mentions a large city near the river, which is called Xion and Cerne, that perhaps had been built in consequence of the success of the establishment of the colony in that island ‡.

Perhaps

* Vol. iii. p. 107.

† Vol. iii. p. 118.

‡ It is to be observed, that Scylax did not go beyond Cerne. Εἰς δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ πόλις μεγάλη, περὶ ἣν ὁ Φοίνικες ἐστ-
ταίης τοῦ ἰμπεριου, p. 55. This circumstance is mentioned as a
proof

Perhaps we may deduce an argument from the distance of the Lixus from the pillars of Hercules. Pliny informs us, “ Agrippa Lixum à Gaditano freto cxii m. pass. abesse*.” We are next to attend to the progress of the ancient vessels during each day. We are told in the voyage of St Paul, that they sailed from Cæsarea to Sidon in *one* day †; and from Rhegium to Puteoli in *two* days ‡. From a rude calculation of these distances, the average rate of ancient sailing will appear to have been about seventy miles a-day; so that Hanno might have passed the first river of the name of Lixus, in the two first days of the occurrences of which he gives no account; or he might have omitted it, as what was already known, particularly as the object of his expedition was two-fold, to settle colonies where discoveries had been formerly made, and to make new discoveries; for the Carthaginians never would have sent out colonies to inhabit a coast of which they had no previous knowledge.

Mr

proof that Hanno's voyage is false. But Scylax might have sailed in smaller vessels, or he might have passed in shallow water between Cerne and the shore, or gone up into the bay, which Hanno explored for some way, and returned and pursued his voyage to the south.

* Lib. v. c. 1.

† Acts, xxvii. 3.

Acts, xxviii. 13.

Mr Dodwell next supposes, that the Periplus was the composition of some Greek impostor, “ who does not appeal to any writing of Hanno’s “ that was known to contemporaries, and exposed in the clear light of general intercourse, “ but to one consecrated in a temple. Thus it “ was in his power to feign what he pleased under the name of Hanno, as if he had been the “ first person who had discovered it in the shrine “ of a temple. But he published it at some distance of time after Hanno’s death, lest he “ himself, or some friend of his, should refute “ these falsehoods at the moment of their appearance *.” There might have been two originals, one in Greek and one in Punic. We have several instances from antiquity, where works, intended to be of public notoriety, were written in several languages. The gospel of St Matthew was written both in Hebrew and in Greek : and both of these have a just claim, as Dr Townson has observed, to be considered as original. Josephus tells us, in his introduction, that

* Qui ne quidem scriptum aliquod Hannonis advocat, coævis notum, et in clarâ hominum luce positum ; sed sacram in templo. Sic penes ipsum erat quod libebat sub Hannonis nomine coningere, quasi primus ille in templi adyto reperisset. Edidit autem ex intervallo postea quam in vivis defierat esse ipse Hanno, ne vel ipse, vel quispiam ejus amicus alius, confecta illius nomine mendacia in ipso ortu refelleret. P. 38.

that he wrote his history both in the Hebrew and in the Greek. The inscription on the cross of our Saviour was written in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. It is therefore, I think, probable, that the copy we now possess of the Periplus might be not only equally authentic, but might have an equal claim to the character of an original with the one written in the Punic tongue.

But surely Mr D. had forgotten, that Pliny had expressly told us, that the skins of the hairy women were placed in the temple of Juno, not *in adyto*, or the secret and concealed recesses, but in public, “argumenti et miraculi gratiâ.” The petulance of Mr D. is excessive. He says, there did not prevail any custom of suspending archives in temples *. But what does that signify? He cannot prove, whether the Carthaginians considered the Periplus as an archive or not. But is it not strange, that the custom should prevail every where in the country, but at Carthage? And yet Mr D. allows, that Polybius extracted many facts from the public records preserved in temples at Carthage. Mr D. likewise says, that the Periplus would be appealed to in preference to the skins of the Gorillæ; that is, what might be forged, and what it might

* Nullum apud Carthaginienes morem archivorum in templis servandorum. P. 39. § 23.

might be difficult to detect, was preferred to what could not possibly deceive those who examined it. And hence Mr D. concludes, that the *Periplus* was false, because persons appeared to these skins that were found in the destruction of Carthage. Works of genius and literature are still hung up in the mosque at Mecca, of several of which the late Sir W. Jones has given elegant translations.

Mr D., forgetting, as it should seem, his late objections, argues against the authenticity of the *Periplus*, as it is said to have been placed in the temple of Saturn, whereas Pliny and Solinus, as he says, agree that it was deposited in the temple of Juno. The decrees of the Roman Senate were preserved in the time of Cicero in the treasury, and had formerly been deposited in the temple of Ceres; but no one ever thought their identity was altered. But neither Pliny nor Solinus say a single word about the place where the MS. (for it was committed to writing *), was deposited. They both say only, that the skins of the hairy women were placed in the temple of Juno, and remained there till the destruction of Carthage. But is there any absurdity in supposing, that in a vast trading city like Carthage, where probably, from extensive commercial

* *Navigationem eam prodidit scripto.* Plin. lib. ii. c. 67.

commercial intercourse, there was a large stock of foreign curiosities, there might be one place assigned for these, and another for MSS.? Saturn and Juno are well known to have been the principal deities at Carthage, and their temples might be chosen for the above purposes, as being probably most frequented. Temples were used as repositories for curiosities at Rome. Pliny tells us, that the skin and jaw-bones of the monstrous serpent, killed by Regulus near the river Bagrada, were preserved, till the time of the Numantine war, in a temple *.

The last argument of Mr Dodwell's is, that in the *Periplus* of Nearchus, it is said, that Hanno's voyage was performed in thirty-five days; whereas Mr D. can reckon only twenty-four days and a half. The words, as they are preserved in Arrian, are these: "But Hanno, the Libyan, having set out from Carthage, sailed outwards, beyond the pillars of Hercules, into the ocean, having Libya on his left hand." His voyage was towards the east, and was completed in thirty-five days. "But," says Mr Dodwell, "from the promontory Soloeis, whence the voyage commences in an easterly direction, to the country of fires and perfumes, you can reckon only twenty-four days and a half in the present and modern *Periplus* of Hanno."

* Plin. lib. viii. c. 14.

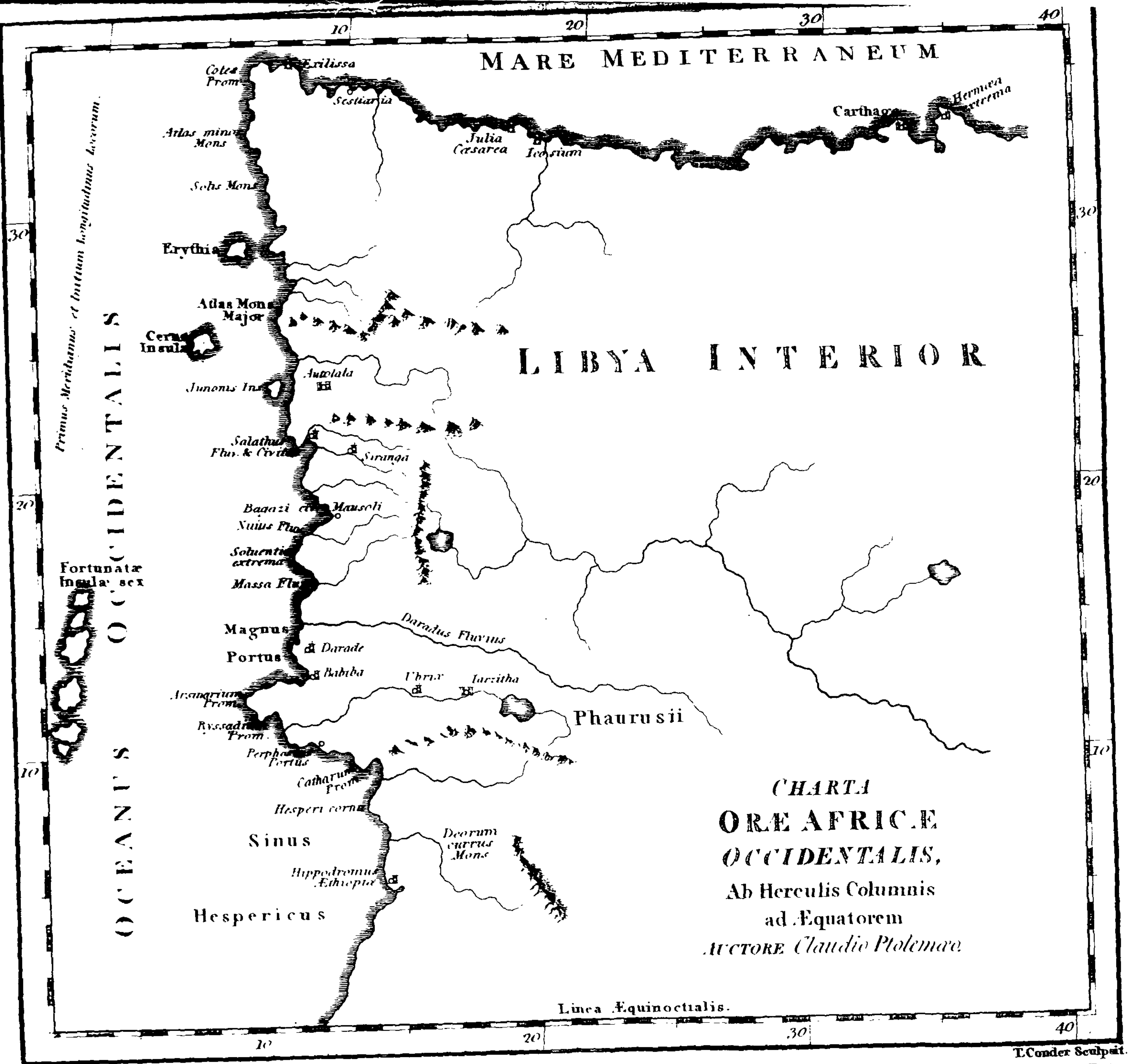
“no.” The phrase in the Periplus of Nearchus, *towards the rising sun*, might merely imply a general opposition to the setting sun, or the west, from which they were departing. Besides, they had not proceeded in a strict sense further eastward at Soloeis than when they set out from the pillars. I apprehend, that the general direction of the voyage, was all that is implied in the words of Nearchus. A candid calculation produces thirty-three days and a half, which approaches very nearly to the number assigned by the last mentioned writer.

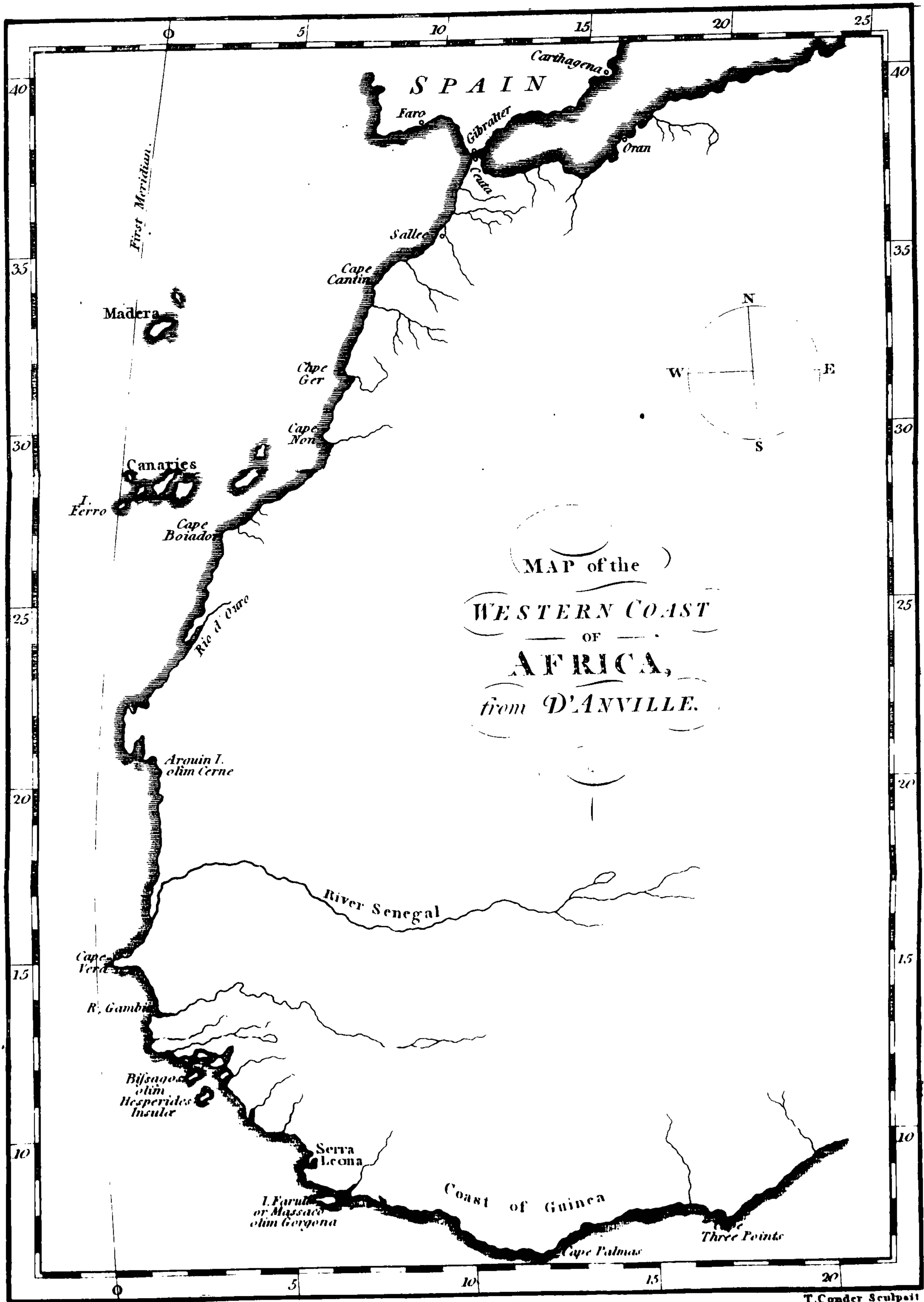
P. 7.	-	2
		$C\frac{1}{2}$
		1
P. 9.	-	2
		1
		1
P. 11.	-	12
		2
		5
P. 13.	-	4
		3
		<hr/>
		$33\frac{1}{2}$

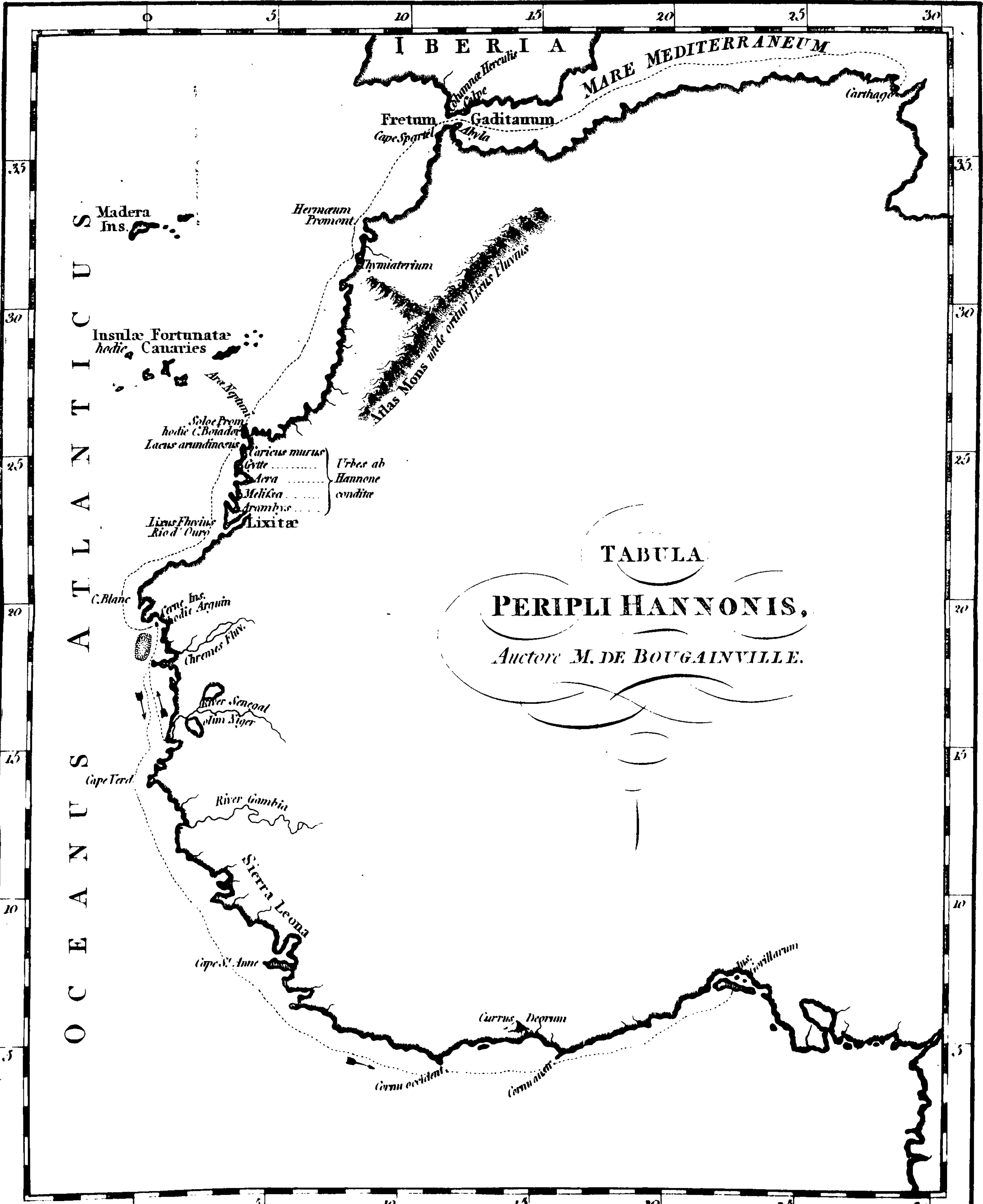
I have thus finished the examination of Mr D.'s disquisition, in which little can be discovered

ed which we can approve. I hope it will appear, that his arguments have been stated with accuracy, and have been answered with candour.

THE END.







O C E A N U S A T L A N T I C U S

TABULA
PERIPLI HANNONIS,
Auctore M. DE BOUGAINVILLE.

I B E R I A

MARE MEDITERRANEUM

Carthago

Gaditannum
Fretum
Cape Spartel
Herculis Cape

Hermacum Promont.

Thymiaterrum
Atlas Mons unde oritur Lixus Fluvius

Madera Ins.
Insulae Fortunatae
hodie Canaries
Arc. Arguin

Soloe Prom.
hodie C. Bonader
Lacus arundineus
Caricus murus
Gytte
Aera
Melica
Lixitae
Lixus Fluvius
Rio d' Ouro

Urbes ab
Hannone
conditae

C. Blanc
Cape Ins.
hodie Arguin
Chrenes Fluv.

River Senegal
River Niger

Cape Verd

River Gambia

Sierra Leona

Cape St. Anne

Curru Degrum

Cornu occidentale

Cornu alicum

Ins. Gaviillarum